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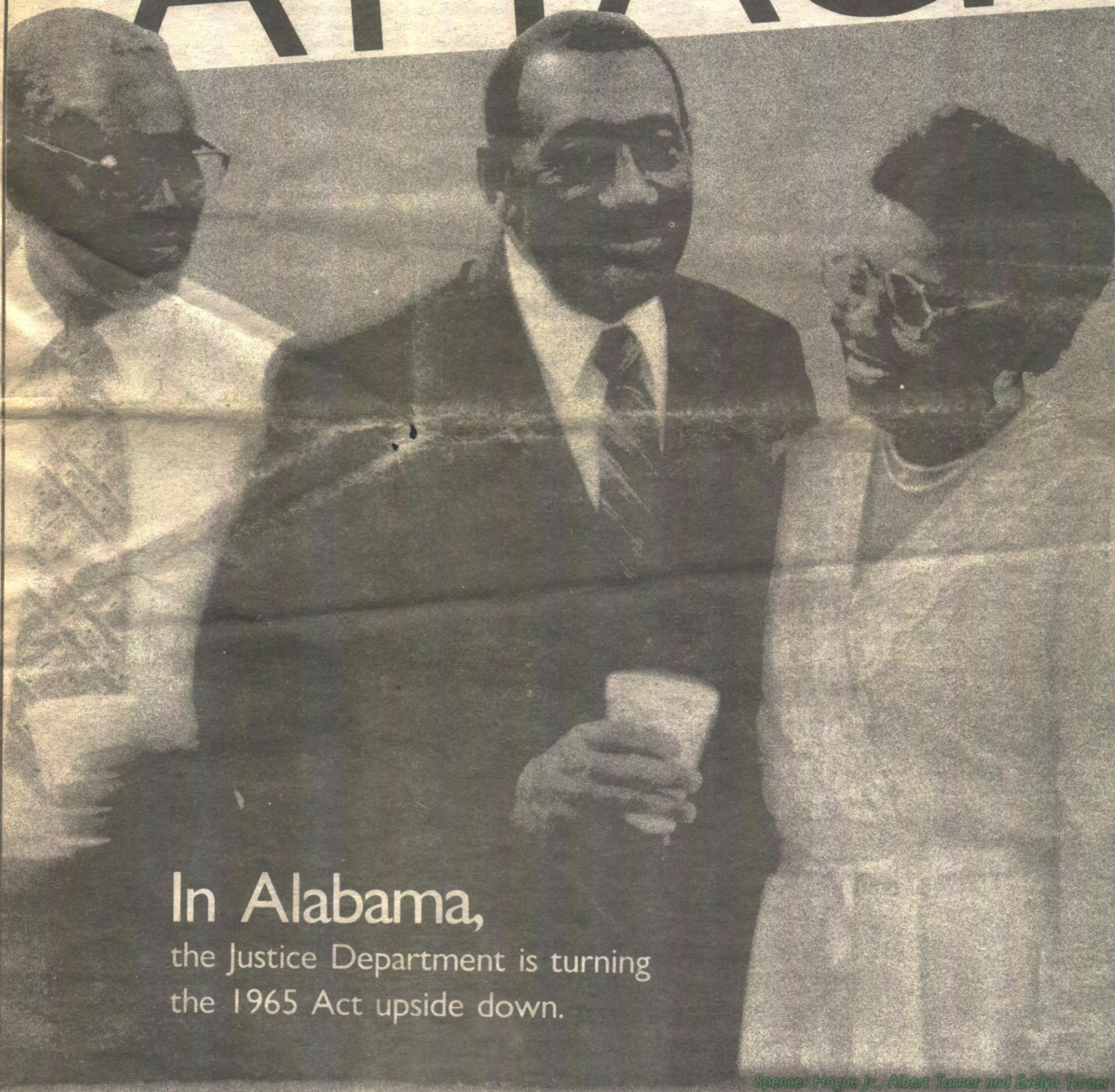
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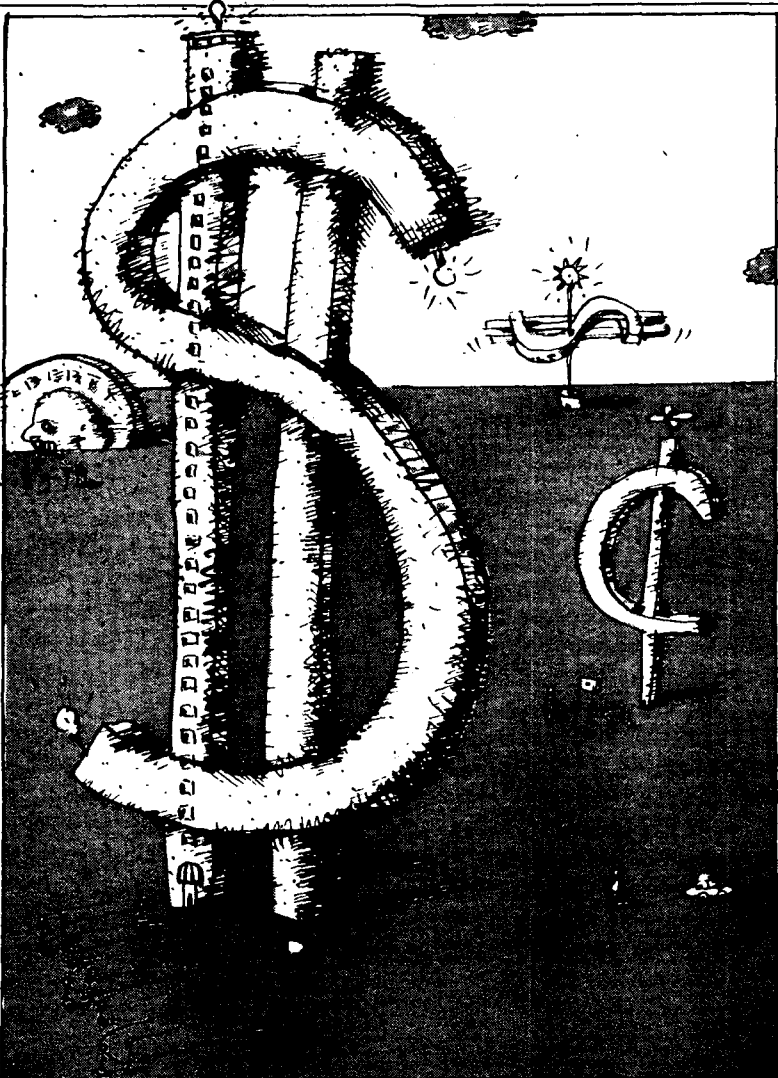
ATTACK



In Alabama,
the Justice Department is turning
the 1965 Act upside down.

Spencer Hogue Jr., Albert Turner and Evelyn Turner

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Peter Hannan

The demise of an unfair Fair

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

A great White City, massive plaster neo-classical structures containing wonders of industry, uplifting culture and popular entertainments, drew 30 million Americans to this city's Columbian Exposition in 1893. Little but a park remained afterward, but the fair's influence was felt throughout the country in architecture, a movement for the "city beautiful," and an image of the U.S. as a new world power.

Beneath the hoopla and celebration, however, there was serious business. "The underlying motive of the whole exhibition, under a sham pretence of patriotism, is business, advertising with a view to individual money-making," complained Edward Bellamy, author of the popular utopian novel, *Looking Backwards*. The fair represented a triumph of a vision of hierarchy, regimented if secure labor, the triumph of capitalism over simple industrialism and agrarianism and the creation of an illusory cultural unity leading to a beneficent future, argued Alan Trachtenberg in his brilliant book, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*.

The road to that future, the fair declared, was "through a corporate alliance of business, culture and the state. But another part of the message was precisely to keep that alliance aloof, not so much hidden and disguised but above reproach, beyond criticism." The city was to be displayed to its inhabitants as a spectacle, not something of their creation. "The lasting lesson of Chicago, of White City" was, Trachtenberg wrote, "that the new society required the corporate version of 'capitalistic methods,' including the array of culture before the senses. In the glow of White City, Populism looked as grotesque as the notion of direct rule by 'the people' seemed now a 'nonsensey.'"

Sandwiched between the panic of 1893 and the tumultuous Pullman Strike of 1894, the fair was a rebuke not only to Populism and the urban labor movement but also to democratic culture. The great Chicago architect Louis Sullivan for years denounced the fair and its influence as a "calamity" that presented culture as "snobbish and alien to the land" and a rebuke to a native, organic architecture oriented to the needs of the people.

Nearly a century later, to commemorate that fair and the 400th anniversary of Columbus' voyage to America, a group of Chicago's top corporate executives planned another "universal class" World's Fair. After several years of promoting it, in late June the idea was all but officially killed. In a way, the conflict was the same as in 1893: an elitist, corporate attempt at business advertising in the guise of cultural celebration that would paper over the real crises of Chicago and the U.S., versus a democratic, populist vision of a city to serve the needs of its people. The difference is: this time the democrats won—for now.

The proposed fair was to have celebrated The Age of Discovery on a site just south of Chicago's Loop, partly on landfill in Lake Michigan, around existing museums and in air rights over the Illinois Central railroad. "Ultimately it was the wrong thing in the wrong place," argued Kathy Tholin of the Center for Neighborhood Technology (CNT), a community development group stressing appropriate technology that was a key part of the Chicago 1992 Committee questioning the fair.

But the place was key—and its supporters would not budge—because, as former CNT President Lew Kreinberg argues, the fair was largely conceived as a way of developing public infrastructure for a "new city within a city" of 200,000 people just south of the city's Loop. Developers have had this in mind at least since the late '60s,

when it became part of the Chicago 21 plan to bring middle-class whites into the center of the city. With the fair, market forces would have worked to displace the largely Mexican working-class community of Pilsen adjacent to the fair site.

Yet the site contributed to the opposition and demise of the fair: landfill and construction required were enormously expensive, traffic congestion would have been unmanageable so close to the Loop and there weren't any obvious "residuals," except more park space that would not be easily accessible. The fair promoters—executives from many locally powerful corporations including Commonwealth Edison, the two biggest banks and two newspapers, United Air Lines, Inland Steel and various developers, retailers and architects from Skidmore, Owings and Merrill—originally made all decisions in private, kept information from the public and talked of it being a totally private, profitable venture. But gradually the Chicago 1992 Committee, an admittedly "rag tag" coalition of community groups from various parts of the city, and sympathetic politicians forced information out and held public hearings. Also, gradually the fair was transformed into a quasi-public enterprise that would still make money. By the end, even the Fair Authority estimated a deficit of up to \$350 million—a conservative outside analysis estimated it could rise by another \$450 million—and proposed that private investors be reimbursed first.

These damning estimates ignored that presumed benefits of the fair would actually represent a drain on the rest of the city—capital improvements foregone elsewhere, money not spent for existing entertainment, disruptions of ongoing business and overall development plans for the sake of a one-shot bundle of low-skill, low-pay, short-term jobs. (The Fair Authority also balked at affirmative action, claiming it would make it hard to sell bonds.) Since 40 percent of the visitors would have been from the Chicago area, the fair didn't even bring in that much "export" income. The experience of other fairs—Knoxville and New Orleans being the two most recent disasters—confirmed fears: although fairs are now promoted more as economic development vehicles than as great celebrations and a "window on the world," they are extremely poor mechanisms, costing much and providing little. With widespread travel, TV and other modern communication as well as competition from Disneyworlds and regular trade expositions, much of the traditional appeal of fairs has faded.

The promoters also botched their job. "They never really put together a vision that captured people's imagination," argued Frankie Knibb, executive director of the Chicago 1992 Committee. They also suffered from the "arrogance of power," Kreinberg and Knibb argued, with the original corporate inner circle excluding new Authority members as it went quasi-public. Even the rest of the corporate leadership stood by the sidelines with at best modest support. At one point the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry even arranged a meeting of Mayor Harold Washington and New Orleans Mayor Dutch Morial, a fair critic.

Mayor Washington came into office as a skeptic about the fair. Following recommendations of his advisory committee, he negotiated an intergovernmental agreement designed to minimize the city's financial contribution and risk, to guarantee more neighborhood benefit and decision-making, and to increase residuals. Publicly, Washington was for the fair if it could meet the stiff requirements. But privately, key advisers were very critical of it. The 1992 Committee, which was opposed to the fair as planned but not to a fair in any form, appreciated Washington's balancing act between the pressure from developers and the neighborhoods. The quite reasonable conditions he set ultimately led to the fair's demise. But this was one issue where critics came from both sides of the city's infamous political split in City Council. The final nail in the coffin, however, was delivered

THE STORY INSIDE

by a machine Democrat, state House Speaker Michael Madigan. Nevertheless, whoever runs against Washington in the 1987 mayoral election will undoubtedly try to portray the death of the fair as a result of his failure to lead the city.

But it is really a victory for a vision of economic development that Washington has championed: no more trickle-down from central city monuments but a focus on job retention and creation, neighborhood economic vitality and the use of public monies as directly and efficiently as possible, insisting on maximum private investment especially if there is private gain. The costly old methods of indirect subsidy to private profiteering are being replaced by more direct decision over public investment. Sullivan, Bellamy, Eugene Debs, Frederick Douglass, the populists and other critics of the 1893 Columbian Exposition would be proud that their political heirs won this round.

"There was a vision," Kreinberg said of fair promoters, "but it was backward to 1893, 1933. It didn't have a sense of the city or the limits of growth. There was no sense of energy conservation or renewable resources. What is this place? It's not a generic city. We have limited resources. Within that you could have a creative fair."

Now there is an opportunity for a creative city, where the same democratic forces that stymied the fair can forge an alternative vision of a city rebuilding itself that will appeal not only to visitors but also to its own residents, who will not have to look to the "frontier" beyond the city for jobs. In the void of the fair, Washington could emerge as the leader of that "fair city," pulling together community groups who rarely make long-term plans. If successful, the model could have the impact that the "city beautiful" did after the 1893 fair. Yet despite his obvious sympathies, it is not clear, given his slowness to take initiative, that he will.



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By Chris Norton

SAN SALVADOR

SUDDENLY EL SALVADOR WAS BACK in the news last month. The "success story" image gave way to the realities of war as four U.S. Marine embassy guards and nine other bystanders were gunned down June 19 by guerrillas in a sidewalk cafe in this city's most fashionable area.

Yet the bloody event overshadowed a dynamic that poses a much greater long-term threat to the Duarte government: labor's resurgence and the economic deterioration that has fueled it. The government and the U.S. embassy used the attack to put forth the official line—that the guerrillas are beaten in the countryside and that the urban attack signalled the launching of a desperate reign of terror in the city. The army even trotted out captured documents to prove its case, but in reality they only showed that the guerrillas, concerned with their lack of urban presence, plan, logically enough, to rebuild an urban base.

Massive U.S. aid has allowed the Salvadoran army to stop the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN) movement and forced it to break down into smaller dispersed units. Yet the army still can't defeat the FMLN, and both sides are increasingly fighting a protracted war of attrition.

With the war stalemated militarily, the war's political, social and economic aspects become more important, and both the government and the rebels are refocusing in that direction.

The left is trying to rebuild its mass base in the cities, but it will have to counter five years of government propaganda to which urban dwellers, otherwise isolated from the war, have been subjected. Recently, government propaganda has increased in both quantity and sophistication, with the formation of a new Ministry of Communications and Sports headed by Julio Rey Prendes, one of the most savvy Christian Democratic pols.

Deteriorating economic conditions and the Duarte government's inability to improve them, despite its populist rhetoric, will build left support. Consumer buying power has decreased 54 percent in the last five years. Pay raises won by a wave of public sector strikes last spring scarcely recovered a quarter of the loss. Unemployment is figured officially at 36 percent and with underemployment the total is more than 60 percent. Actual levels are probably higher.

"You have the makings of a very destabilizing situation," says one European diplomat, who is concerned about increasing worker-government confrontation and what he sees as a lack of coherent government policy for dealing with the labor unrest.

"If he [Duarte] ignores the workers, things will get even worse," predicts the diplomat. "Especially after economic policies like raising the rate for dollars [which businessmen buy from the Central Bank to finance imports—part of the government's AID-promoted policy of gradually moving to the parallel market—in effect a de facto devaluation] I expect prices to shoot up again."

The left-wing labor movement that was forced underground by early 1981 tried to emerge in the fall of 1983, but death squads killed some leaders, forcing the movement into hiding again. Then, as international attention focused on El Salvador for the 1984 presidential elections, the labor movement, somewhat more protected, launched a series of public sector strikes that paralyzed several government ministries and semi-autonomous institutions and eventually won an across-the-board pay raise.

Recently, several left-led unions have gone on strike for another pay raise. While the number of strikers is smaller than last spring's strike wave, the tactics are more militant and some demands are also political—dialog, punishment of the death squads and release of political prisoners.

On May Day close to 20,000 workers



Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas pointed out the hypocrisy of such outrage for four Americans killed in a country where 50,000 Salvadorans have also been murdered.

Marine killings mask real threat to Duarte

marched, more than double the number from last year. Since early May, striking water utility workers have been marching through the downtown streets almost daily, a sight not seen for the last four years.

"The U.S. is trying to present the Duarte government with a clean image, therefore it cannot begin repressing," says Miguel Angel Parada, rector of the National University, which was reopened last year. "The unions are taking advantage of that contradiction. They're losing their fear of the military and the people are going back into the streets."

The government's response has been to charge that the strikes are being orchestrated by the FMLN to destabilize the government. "Beware brother worker. You are being manipulated by the terrorists," said government radio spots that ran every five minutes on the day a large protest march was scheduled.

The government has taken a hard line against strikers, firing the entire leadership of the water utility union, a member of the independent leftist federation FENAS-TRAS. Then on June 2 the government made what most observers think was a colossal mistake. In the early morning hours, they stormed the Social Security hospitals that had been peacefully occupied by strikers for 27 days. During the confusion of the SWAT-style assault a U.S.-trained counter-terrorist Hacienda Police unit managed to shoot and kill four plainclothes police. A patient also died while police had the entire staff tied up face down on the floor for hours. But the assault, rather than intimidating workers, infuriated them.

Condemnation of the assault was widespread. Even the centrist, U.S.-allied Democratic Popular Unity (UPD) and the new AIFLD-created front, the Democratic Workers Confederation (CTD), criticized the action.

Left unions that belong to the Coordinator of Worker Solidarity (CST) defied

an army ban, and 5,000 workers marched. The CST contains the radical teachers union, ANDES June 21, as well as FENAS-TRAS and two other left federations, FUSS (Unitary Federation of Salvadoran Workers) and FESTIAVTSCEs. It shows potential for uniting various left and independent unions and a congress was held June 20 to draw up a common platform.

"The question isn't if there will be repression, but when," says one academic researcher. Eight unionists have already been killed this year, and unionists expect that selective repression will increase.

Yet, despite the risks, the CST is moving ahead with its organizing. It still isn't clear whether the strikes will spread to more centrist unions or if they will remain limited to the more explicitly leftist unions.

Economic conditions seem likely to continue to decline. Duarte is in a Catch 22—he can't have an economic reactivation until he ends the war, which eats up 50 percent of the budget. Yet until he improves economic conditions for broad sectors of the population, he can't remove the war's causes.

"The left knows we are in a weak position, that we can't offer the people what they want because we're in a crisis," says the liberal Christian Democratic Secretary

The real threat is the resurgence of labor and the economic deterioration that fuels it.

General and Mayor of San Salvador Jose Antonio Morales Erlich.

The U.S. appears to be paying more attention to the alliance between Duarte, the private sector and the military than to Duarte's social base. That base may move to the left, however, if the government continues to ignore those Salvadorans.

Zona Rosa reactions.

The killings in the exclusive Zona Rosa, the fashionable street of eateries for El Salvador's oligarchy, has increased the sense of unease for the upper class. The wealthy are likely to keep abroad the two things they value most—their children and their money, creating further problems for the government that seeks to increase private investment.

Apparently struck by the blatant political use the government was making of the killings, Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas was uncharacteristically bold in his June 23 homily, condemning the killings but saying it would be hypocritical not to also condemn terrorism of the right and the armed forces. He then went on to list the "army's indiscriminate bombings, destruction of crops, burning of houses and barns and forced exoduses" of civilians.

The archbishop also labeled the Zona Rosa a center of sex and drugs, calling it a "scandal for its ostentatiousness and wanton extravagance, if one considers how the majority of Salvadorans live, or rather, survive." His statements spurred a flurry of criticism in the two right-wing morning newspapers, but he didn't retreat. He defended his statements by pointing out the hypocrisy of such outrage for four Americans killed in a country where 50,000 Salvadorans have also been murdered.

The Zona Rosa killings by an urban commando of the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC) also brought criticism from one of the two main Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) parties, Ruben Zamora's Popular Social Christian Movement (MPSC). The MPSC said the killings "contribute nothing to the search for a just peace" and that they represent a step backward in humanizing the war.

The communique is the first public criticism of the FMLN by an FDR member, and while signaling an increased independence, it doesn't preview the split between the FDR and the FMLN that U.S. and Salvadoran government strategists have long hoped to create, according to a MPSC source. Still, the return of some MPSC members to El Salvador to test the political waters may eventually create tensions between the FDR and the FMLN.

The MPSC formed after Ruben Zamora and many of the young Christian Democrats left the party in 1980 in protest of the party's decision to ally with the military. Zamora has been banned from the U.S. because the State Department says he publicly supported the killing of Navy Lt. Commander Albert Schaufelberger in 1983 by the Clare Elizabeth Ramirez Front, the urban front of the FLP before it split away. It will be interesting to see if the State Department now rescinds its ban on Zamora, one of the rebels' most effective spokespersons.

The U.S. and the Salvadoran government are getting maximum mileage out of the killings—using them to prove its claims of a wave of urban guerrilla terrorism. Already the FBI has visited El Salvador to offer technical assistance and there will likely be increased moves to rescind restrictions on the U.S. training of Latin American police forces. And the U.S. has already trained an anti-terrorist unit of the Hacienda Police, which was used to storm the Social Security hospital. U.S. officials claim the rules haven't been broken because the unit was transferred to the High Command. Similar units are scheduled to be trained in each of the other security forces (National Police and National Guard) and the crime investigation unit trained in Puerto Rico may also be expanded.

Chris Norton is *In These Times'* El Salvador correspondent.

INSHORT

Beth Maschinot

March against AIDS

The threat of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) and the government's deaf ear to the epidemic mobilized hundreds of thousands of gays across the country last weekend in June for annual gay pride parades. In San Francisco, 200,000 turned out for a parade that wound down Market Street to the tune of bands and the sway of colorful floats. The Gay Freedom Day Parade had hit a snag a few days before, however: the grand marshal, Juan Hernandez, a founder of the gay rights movement in Mexico, was detained by U.S. immigration officials when he told them he was gay. A federal judge eventually freed Hernandez in time to perform his duties.

In New York, tens of thousands of marchers marched down Fifth Avenue, with small groups breaking off to protest in front of anti-gay targets. A group of Catholic homosexuals demonstrated outside of St. Patrick's Cathedral, home base of anti-gay Cardinal John O'Connor. The week before, the state Court of Appeals had banned their planned protest on the cathedral steps, so impromptu streetside protests were the order of the day. The Court of Appeals also recently struck down Mayor Koch's executive order that prohibited city contracts from anti-gay discrimination in hiring. Joining the parade, Koch used the time to criticize the court's decision.

In Chicago, 50,000 or more marchers were greeted by Mayor Washington at a rally at march's end. Washington once again politicked against Alderman Ed Vrdolyak for splitting the City Council into two entrenched camps, saying that a gay rights ordinance for Chicago "would be law today if we didn't have the 29-21 split on the City Council." Washington's appearance was especially welcomed by a gay community that has criticized him for his low profile in the past.

Besides rallying marchers, the AIDS epidemic has also touched off acts of civil disobedience in the past few weeks, including a San Francisco AIDS victim who recently chained himself to the San Francisco Federal Building to call attention to the government's slow response to the AIDS crisis. John Lorenzini charged the government with laxity in committing funds to AIDS research and public education. He also went after the Food and Drug Administration for being slow to approve medicines commonly used in Mexico for anti-viral treatments. Lorenzini's chains were eventually cut by the police, and he was arrested for creating a disturbance. During his protest, supporters stood next to him with a sign reading "people with AIDS are chained to a sick society."

N.Y.'s mixed bag

After 27 days on the picket lines, hotel workers in 53 New York City hotels went back to work with a new contract at the end of June. With a 23.5 percent wage increase spread over the next five years, their union leaders were declaring victory, and the membership roared approval at a ratification meeting. It was a victory, however, that was not without cost. The 25,000-member New York Hotel and Motel Trades Council, a nine-union coalition dominated by Local 6 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union, gave in on two key demands: the hotels introduced a two-tier wage scale with new employees paid 25 percent less than scale for a year and the owners won the right to move workers between positions, which is likely to eliminate some jobs. On the other hand, the union points to new benefits—including a 20 percent pension increase, free legal services, an added holiday and sick day and a \$300,000 scholarship fund for the members' children, who are mostly black and Hispanic. The wage increase will bring the average workers' salary from \$315 to \$385 in 1990.

This was the first strike in 46 years for New York hotel workers and it was a test of power for what is probably the strongest hotel union in the country. Peter Romeo, a senior editor who covered the strike for the *Nation's Restaurant News*, called the concessions "very significant." But he said that the wage package the union won is high for the current labor climate. Romeo said the hotels were hurt, down some 10 percent in occupancy during the strike—"which is a lot." He noted that there were a few defections in the ranks of the hotel owners, some of them making the same complaints as the union—that the owners association is dominated by

the large hotel chains. But union spokesman Hank Sheinkopf minimized the concessions and said the union emerged stronger than before. "We proved you can't break this union. We won."

Yuppie peaceniks?

A new organization called PROPeace (People Reaching Out for Peace) is attempting to bring the peace movement into the computer age and, in the process, mobilize the largest demonstrations for nuclear disarmament the country has ever seen. If all goes according to plan, 5,000 people will set out from Los Angeles next spring in a "Great Peace March" that will last 255 days and cover over 3,000 miles. When the 5,000 arrive in Washington, D.C., they hope to be greeted by a million supporters in a mass rally. The march's goal, organizer David Mixner told the *San Diego Newsline*, is to "build a worldwide citizen movement so powerful that our leaders and the Soviets will have no choice but to take the nuclear weapons down." PROPeace has plans for three further phases: a civil disobedience campaign involving up to a quarter million people, a march through East Germany to Berlin, and a still "undefined" strategy to mobilize the Soviet people for disarmament. Throughout the campaign, PROPeace will be using high-tech equipment to plan the march, to assemble a massive computer mailing list and to beam information about the group's activities into the Eastern bloc.

This may all sound a bit...well...grandiose, but the planning is moving at a rapid pace. The organizers

have raised \$1 million so far (including \$25,000 from Paul Newman alone) and hope to have 60 full-time staffers "on board" by the end of July. The project is the brainchild of David Mixner, who gained national attention in 1969 as one of the organizers of the Vietnam Moratorium and has more recently served as a national co-chair of Gary Hart's 1984 campaign. Like the Hart campaign, PROPeace seems to attract Yuppies—the *Los Angeles Times* calls them the "backbone of Mixner's staff."

PROPeace is "not a yuppie movement," the Chicago office head Melody Moore told *In These Times*. But the organization is deliberately playing up a slick, upbeat, non-partisan and non-ideological image. Marchers have to submit an application and go through training, and no drugs or alcohol will be permitted on the march. "If we travel across the country in chaos," Mixner told the *L.A. Weekly*, "our message will be lost.... Our purpose is to inspire the American people and not turn them off."

PROPeace hopes to avoid political complications by keeping its message—bilateral nuclear disarmament—clear and simple, and by stressing that it is not a political movement with specific strategies for bringing about disarmament and peace. It doesn't endorse particular candidates, for example. Is there a danger that the non-partisan, non-political nature of the organization will backfire? After all, Reagan has been using "peace" rhetoric to justify his nuclear policies. "Ronald Reagan can say what he wants," Moore said, "but he's not taking the weapons down."

This week's contributors: Michael Hoyt, David Futrelle



By Sheila D. Collins

A SELMA, AL
LBERT TURNER IS A SHORT, humble-looking man—a “salt of the earth type” one admirer calls him. In photos of Martin Luther King Jr.’s funeral cortege, Turner is leading the mule team. He was also at the head of a line of civil rights marchers who were clubbed down here in March 1965 on “Bloody Sunday.”

The Selma to Montgomery march following that incident led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, perhaps the most important piece of federal legislation to affect the South since the Emancipation Proclamation. Now, in a turn of events with far-reaching implications, Albert Turner and seven other civil rights workers from the Alabama Black Belt are being brought to trial for violating the very act they helped establish.

One of the strongest grassroots movements for black political and economic empowerment in the nation has been built in the counties of Perry, Wilcox, Lowndes, Sumter and Greene in the southwestern Black Belt. Through grassroots organizations like the Perry County Voters’ League, founded by Turner, the Greene County Citizens’ League and the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, veterans of the ‘60s movement have built the beginnings of a quiet revolution.

But the Reagan administration and local white officials seem determined to stop it with the very legislation the Albert Turners have devoted their lives to achieving. Steve Suitts, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, says the prosecution of people like Turner and the other civil rights workers turns the intention of the Voting Rights Act “on its head.”

On June 17, Albert Turner, his wife Evelyn and an associate, Spencer Hogue, all leaders of the Perry County Voters’ League, went on trial in federal court in Mobile. They are charged with 29 counts of altering absentee ballots, mail fraud and voting more than once in a Democratic primary last September. If convicted, the three could receive up to 115 years in prison.

Five other civil rights activists from Greene County were arraigned on similar charges in Birmingham on June 19. Their

Civil rights workers who helped win the 1965 Voting Rights Act are now targets of administration efforts to halt black empowerment in Alabama.

trial is scheduled to begin July 29. They include Spiver Gordon, who was assigned by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to work in Greene County in 1968, after a special election was mandated following complaints brought to the Justice Department under the Voting Rights Act. Spiver is now a member of the City Council of Eutaw, Ala., and county coordinator of the Community Service Block Grant program. Bobbie Nell Simpson, a white widow who has supported the movement for black empowerment despite almost total ostracism from the white community, is also among the five indicted from Greene County.

At least 30 additional black civil rights leaders and elected officials in southwest Alabama may face similar charges in the coming weeks and months. Wendell Paris, head of the Alabama Black Belt Defense Committee and himself a probable indictee, has said that indictments of leaders in Lowndes County are expected in July, in Sumter County in July or August and in Wilcox County some time later.

Local and national civil rights organizations—including the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the Center for Constitutional Rights and the Southern Poverty Law Center, which are providing legal defense—view these cases as the cutting edge of a massive assault by the Reagan administration on the gains made under the Voting Rights Act.

The federal investigation began im-

mediately after Jesse Jackson’s impressive sweep of Black Belt counties in the presidential primaries of 1984, and the indictments come just a year before nearly every state and local office in Alabama is up for re-election. They appear to be targeted at civil rights movement leaders, not blacks who came to power later as a result of the movement but were not themselves a part of it.

Wendell Paris, one of the most dynamic of the region’s grassroots leaders, compares the government’s actions to the first wave of harassment and intimidation of black electoral power that followed Reconstruction in the 1870s. “They started with legal frame-ups and prosecutions. And when that didn’t work,” he said, “they resorted to murder.”

Supporters of the “Black Belt 8” charge racism is the motivation in the case. But federal and local officials disagree, pointing out that the complaints were brought by black people. John Russell, a Justice Department spokesman, has called charges that the prosecutions are politically motivated “baseless” and “astonishing.”

While it is true that the plaintiffs are black, civil rights workers contend that the “black-on-black” issue illustrates the new form racism takes in the South. “They have become more sophisticated,” says Paris. “The people who allegedly lodged the complaints are just pawns in their game.”

“They are even using the word ‘coalition’ now,” says Bobbie Nell Simpson, the white woman under indictment. She explains that new, allegedly black-white coalitions set up in the Black Belt counties are nothing but window-dressing for the old white power structure.

The Southern Poverty Law Center has filed a counter suit against the Justice Department contending that for years it ignored complaints from blacks about whites abusing absentee ballots to retain political control. Only after blacks have gained control of many public offices, the suit points out, is the Reagan administration launching a probe into allegations that blacks are abusing the absentee ballot system.

Members of the Black Belt Defense Committee have charged that immediately after the September 1984 Democratic primary, hundreds of FBI agents swept through the five counties, visiting the homes of elderly people, suggesting that they may have been involved in illegal activity and then taking them off to Mobile, under state trooper escort, to be photographed, fingerprinted and questioned by a grand jury. Having had to fear state power all their lives, many of these elderly, largely uneducated people, could easily be intimidated into turning state’s evidence.

The absentee ballot has been key to the politics of the Alabama Black Belt since passage of the Voting Rights Act. Black Belt counties are among the nation’s poorest, and many workers must travel out of their county each day to find jobs. To

vote, these commuting workers must miss work or obtain absentee ballots. In addition, these counties contain a high percentage of the elderly poor, who often have difficulty getting to the polls on election day.

The absentee ballot has always meant the difference between winning and losing an election in the Black Belt, where the population is sparse. Bobby Joe Johnson,

Commissioner of Wilcox County, has said that blacks would always lose the elections in his county by a margin of 202 votes. Black candidates would go to bed election night thinking they had won an office, but in the morning, after absentee ballots were counted, they would find they had lost.

This pattern has been repeated all over the region. For over a decade, relatives and



Civil rights workers Spiver Gordon, now a member of the Eutaw City Council, is among those charged with vote fraud.

friends of whites who have moved out of the Black Belt—some as far away as Chicago and New York—have been voting in regional elections through the use of the absentee ballot—sometimes even dead people would show up on the absentee ballot count. The Black Belt Defense Committee has evidence that some of the people now involved in bringing the indictments against the Black Belt 8 were themselves involved in such fraudulent schemes.

Prompted by continual losses in the absentee ballot box, civil rights workers began to use the absentee ballot system aggressively, visiting the elderly and shut-ins, helping them to fill out the ballots and then taking them to the post office to mail. The mail fraud charge Turner has been indicted on relates to the mailing of such ballots, which the government contends were fraudulently made out. Even before there was any hint

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of an investigation, agents were photographing Turner as he brought his ballots to the post office last September.

Between 1965 and 1968, blacks had little success in wresting control of the Black Belt from the white elite. But with the election of a majority of blacks to the County Commission in Greene County in 1970, that situation began to turn around. Since then blacks have gained the majority of seats on five county commissions, five school boards and have won seven sheriffs’ offices. Blacks now direct the municipal governments of nine towns and hold a few other positions such as tax assessor and collector, state representative and state senator.

But whites retain control of five Black Belt county governments, 33 of 42 towns, and all of the voter registrar positions, to which people are appointed by the governor. There are no black district attorneys or circuit judges, which makes legal redress through state courts almost impossible for blacks.

Attempts have been made to thwart black political progress at every step. Under the Reagan administration the white backlash has intensified. In 1981 the white legislators from the Black Belt convinced the Alabama state legislature to enact a “re-identification” law that virtually wiped out the voting lists in several counties, requiring people to appear in person to re-identify in order to vote. The requirement was thrown out in Lowndes and Wilcox counties because the law required voters using absentee ballots to obtain a certificate from

a licensed physician in those counties stating that they were unable to come to the polls. No doctors live in those two counties.

Indictments were attempted against Turner and several others in state courts in 1982, but they were unsuccessful because the majority of jurors were black. Black Belt activists believe the present cases have been brought by the Justice Department in order to accomplish through federal machinery what could not be done at the state level. The jurors in the Turner-Hogue case are being drawn from the Mobile area, where the state is certain to get a predominantly white jury pool, even though the trial will be held in Selma, which is in the Black Belt.

Despite continuous harassment, judicial and legislative roadblocks, Turner and others have continued to organize. When the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway began to be constructed, a Minority People’s Council was formed to demand that at least 40 percent of the jobs on the waterway be reserved for blacks. When Emelle in Sumter County was designated as a national

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POLITICS

Women's caucus goes upscale

By Hugh Merrill

ATLANTA, GA

WHEN THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S Political Caucus (NWPC) opened its convention here on June 27, Lewis Grizzard, a columnist for the *Atlanta Constitution*, advised his redneck friends not to disagree with delegates to the meeting or risk being hit with a tire tool.

He needn't have bothered. The seventh biennial convention of the 14-year-old organization, billed as "Showcase '85," was

more chic than radical, more of a celebration of the increasing political role of women during the past two years than a rhetorical springboard for future battles.

At past conventions, some veteran participants said, delegates dressed in clothes designed by Levi-Strauss and argued for the feminization of American politics with the fervor of zealots. But in Atlanta, most of the women wore upscale *New Yorker* fashions appropriate to their demographics—mostly white, 98 percent college educated, 81 percent employed with a median income of \$33,000—and they cheered the accomplishments of Geraldine Ferraro,

Gloria Steinem, Bella Abzug and other heroines past. When they were not in meetings, the delegates provided a brisk business for Oil of Olay and designer leather goods sales clerks who staffed special booths set up near the convention floor.

But the gentrification of the NWPC was not apparent outside the hall, and the group's reputation as progressive and feminist caused about 70 men, women and children to picket the Atlanta Hilton, where the caucus met, with placards reading, "Feminists Hate Babies and God" and "Abortion, the ultimate child abuse."

The convention seemed more controlled

by corporate giants than in years past. The Coca-Cola Company was listed as a "major contributor." With giant Coca-Cola banners as a podium backdrop, delegate credentials that had the red and white Coke logo on the back, and a vice president of the corporation as a guest speaker, it would have been easy for a casual observer to believe this was a meeting of women soft drink sales representatives.

Of course, the NWPC has had victories worth savoring—women members of state legislatures have more than tripled since the organization's founding in 1971, female members of Congress have grown from 15 to 25 in those 14 years, and a woman was the Democratic Party's vice presidential candidate in 1984.

"We are the tourniquet to the body politic," outgoing NWPC President Kathy Wilson told the delegates. "And it is our pressure to bring more women into office that, ultimately, will set the priorities of this nation straight. We are a movement—a pro-



Nicole Ferentz

APARTHEID

Cynical posturing by California regents

By Joan Walsh

BERKELEY, CA

THERE WAS LITTLE MYSTERY LEFT when the University of California Regents voted June 21 to reject demands to gradually divest system holdings in firms doing business in South Africa. Despite small concessions during the spring to the broad-based UC anti-apartheid movement—symbolized by a freeze on new South Africa investments adopted the month before—the majority bloc led by UC System President David Gardner did what it always intended: it bowed to the UC Treasurer's report, which offered a predictably dire assessment of divestment's impact on the regents' investment portfolio.

The treasurer's report, commissioned last January and made public in early June, concluded that selling South Africa-con-

nected stocks and bonds would cost the system \$100 million in trading fees and leave the regents with a risky, mediocre portfolio. Bowing to moral arguments for divestiture, the report advised, would breach the regents' fiduciary responsibilities and leave them open to legal action.

Gardner's recommendation weeks later picked up where the treasurer's report left off. It proposed establishing a faculty-staff alumnae-regent committee to review the regents' investments, examining companies for "quality of corporate citizenship." Signing and complying with the Sullivan fair-labor guidelines would be one measure of good citizenship, according to Gardner's plan, but companies who did neither wouldn't necessarily face divestment.

In fact, divestment didn't really figure in the Gardner plan, which advocated corporate proxy resolutions and moral suasion before economic sanctions. Selling UC's

South Africa-connected stock wouldn't "accomplish more than a change in ownership," Gardner said. "It would surely not end apartheid, nor, in my opinion, improve the well-being of non-white South Africans." The plan carried 14 to nine.

Hindsight makes the whole divestment deliberation look like cynical posturing on the part of Gardner and the regent majority. They set up the treasurer's report as gospel, though its doom-and-gloom conclusions were predictable—and refutable. An alternative report issued by Faculty for Full Divestment challenged the \$100 million trading fees, estimating a cost of \$3.7 million a year over the five years of a phased full divestment plan.

And the report's alarm over the volatility of a South Africa-free portfolio, which would have to replace some safe, blue-chip companies with smaller, riskier concerns, is only one half of the debate that divestment has provoked for years. The other side can counter that UC's reliance on large-capitalization growth stocks makes its investments less profitable than a diversified, risk-taking portfolio. Faculty for Full Divestment contended that the UC Retirement System portfolio "has consistently under-performed the Standard and Poor 500 index, resulting in an estimated loss of earnings of \$50 million per year." Whatever the treasurer's report was, it wasn't definitive.

The regents' intransigence is in sharp

contrast with the flexibility of the UC divestment movement, which took pains to craft a proposal that might have a chance of reaching regents considered in the middle on divestment. A phased, full divestment plan advanced by faculty metamorphosed into the Willie Brown plan, named for and by the state assembly speaker and regent from San Francisco. The plan called for freezing new investment and divesting holdings in companies doing business with the South Africa government over the next 24 months; if the apartheid regime still stands, the plan would divest all the system's South Africa-connected holdings over a three-year period. For regents concerned about fiduciary responsibility, the entire plan was subject to judicial review before implementation.

But the proposal failed 16 to 10. "We thought we could reach the middle third of the regents with phased, not immediate divestment, to ensure that the value of the stock wasn't unreasonably imperiled," said Kenneth Simmons, a UC-Berkeley architecture professor and spokesman for Faculty for Full Divestment. "But they followed Gardner's lead."

Future model.

The worthlessness of Gardner's initiative bears emphasis, since it's likely to become a model for other universities plagued by divestment demands. Its reliance on the Sullivan principles ignored that their

SPECIAL ELECTION

First round of Texas congressional fight tests Gramm's clout

By Geoffrey Rips

AUSTIN, TX

IT IS BILLED AS A TEST OF REAGAN'S popularity and of the attraction of the Republican Party for conservative Democrats. In a special congressional election generated in large part by the allegiance of Democratic former U.S. Rep. Sam Hall to Reagan policy, the significance of the outcome may have less to do with political verities than with the relative influence in Republican party politics of the new U.S. senator from Texas, Democrat-turned-Republican Phil Gramm. Still, this election does bear watching as a gauge of how changed this region is since the death nine years ago of its then-incumbent Rep. Wright Patman, scourge of the banking industry.

The First Congressional District of Texas is nestled in the northeast corner of the state, abutting Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana, demarcated on the north by the Red River, which in the late 19th and early 20th centuries bisected the heart of this country's Populist movement. It is a region of piney woods and red clay, low income, a large elderly population and hard-core conservative Democrats.

For 48 years it was represented in Congress by Patman, an unreconstructed populist who devoted most of his congressional career to attempting to regulate the Federal Reserve Board, banking monopolies and interlocking directorates. Following Patman's death in 1976, the district was represented by Sam Hall, a Democrat whose career was marked chiefly by his participation as a Southern boll weevil in the endorsement of Reagan economic policies, marking a clear reversal of Patman's positions.

Enter U.S. Sen. Phil Gramm. Following his election in 1984, Gramm sought to capitalize on the Reagan landslide in Texas by launching a personal crusade throughout

the state to woo Democratic officeholders and voters into the Republican ranks. He has garnered a few judges and a state legislator, taking credit for a natural realignment that is the product of the 25-year ascension of the Republican Party in the state.

Gramm's greatest prize in his quest has been his sponsorship of the conversion of fellow boll weevil Kent Hance of Lubbock. In 1984, Hance lost the Democratic primary for the U.S. Senate nomination by two-tenths of a percentage point to liberal state Sen. Lloyd Doggett. Doggett thereafter lost the Senate race to Gramm, victimized in part by the Reagan landslide in the state. Several months later, Hance, who had received 49.9 percent of the Democratic vote, appeared at a Washington, D.C., press conference with Gramm to announce that there was no room in the Democratic Party for his views. With Gramm's backing, Hance is now preparing to challenge Democratic Gov. Mark White, much to the chagrin of supporters of Republican gubernatorial hopefuls, former Gov. William Clements and U.S. Rep. Tom Loeffler.

In the First Congressional District, Gramm called upon another boll weevil alumnus, Rep. Sam Hall, to help further his conversion strategy. Soon after assuming his Senate seat, Gramm nominated Hall for a federal judgeship. President Reagan was all too happy to comply, noting Hall's loyalty to the administration's agenda and cognizant of the possibility of picking up a Republican congressional seat in east Texas.

Gramm then recruited former Democrat Edd Hargett to run for the congressional seat. Hargett, an engineer and political neophyte, seems to have been tapped largely because of the relative fame he accrued as the last Texas A&M University quarterback to lead that school to victory in the Cotton Bowl. The knighting of Hargett by Gramm brought with it the promise of a large war chest collected from around the state and the nation and the assurance of at least a spot in a runoff if not outright victory in the June 29 election.

Entering the race against Republican Hargett were six Democrats and a candidate from the Christian Contender Party. Among the Democrats, all huddling near the conservative end of the spectrum, were former state Treasurer Warren G. Harding, ousted from that post in 1982 after pleading guilty to an official misconduct misdemeanor charge, and state Rep. Jim McWilliams, running on the anti-immigration theme that had served Kent Hance well in the region during the 1984 primaries.

The leading Democratic contenders were state Rep. Sam Russell, who scored a zero among state legislators in the *Texas Observer's* rating of key votes during the last legislative session, and former Hopkins County District Attorney Jim Chapman, who had come close to unseating state Sen. Ed Howard in the 1984 Democratic primary.

In the race, the only issue of any note was Reagan's cut in the cost-of-living allowance for Social Security. Because this is a district with a sizeable elderly population, the Democrats tried to tie Hargett to Reagan's position—a strategy that Chapman seemed to milk most vigorously and most successfully. Hargett was forced to defend himself, saying he opposed cuts of any kind in Social Security.

While Democratic mailings quoted Wright Patman's "Social Security stands

squarely for family security," there was little else of Patman's influence to be found in the race. This was an election bereft of appeal to the old Red River populist constituency or to the large black population in the district. Aside from the Social Security issue, the candidates spent most of their time proving their conservative credentials and endorsing anti-abortion or prayer-in-the-schools proposals from the New Right agenda. Hargett accused Chapman of labor ties during Chapman's 1984 campaign against Ed Howard. Chapman scoffed at such guilt by association, citing his 99 percent conviction rate as a district attorney as proof that he was no labor-liberal. Hargett also sent out mailings featuring Tip O'Neill on the front cover and George Bush on the back and calling for prayer in the schools.

Hargett's ability to target extensive mailing lists was paid for by his campaign funding advantage. In the last campaign finance report filed before the June 29 election, Hargett had amassed more than \$46,000 more than his four principal Democratic rivals combined. For the period January 1 through June 9, Hargett collected \$466,417, with 84 percent of his contributions in the \$200-\$1,000 range coming from outside the district.

Among those contributing \$1,000 to Hargett's campaign were Phil Gramm, Dallas Cowboy owner H.R. "Bum" Bright, GOP State Chairman George Strake Jr., Mesa Petroleum President T. Boone Pickens Jr., former Gov. William Clements Jr., King Ranch executive James H. Clement and Jack Coors of the Colorado brewery. In addition, Hargett led all comers in political action committee (PAC) contributions, receiving large contributions from PACs representing American Airlines, utility companies, banks and Mesa Petroleum.

In contrast, state Rep. Sam Russell reported taking in \$183,026, but this included two large loans from his family. Jim Chapman collected \$153,660, including \$70,000 of his own money. Hargett reported making neither loans nor contributions to his campaign from his personal

Republican Edd Hargett placed first, but didn't get a majority.

resources, indicating that when he was recruited by Gramm for the race he had been promised a campaign without personal financial risk.

In the election on June 29, Hargett finished first with 42 percent of the vote to Chapman's 30 percent. Each side claims this to be a sign of imminent victory in the August 3 runoff. Third-place finisher Sam Russell has pledged his support to Chapman, as has Chapman's 1984 opponent Ed Howard. Howard is eyeing a state Railroad Commission seat in 1986, while Russell eyes Howard's Senate seat. Each could benefit from Chapman's support if he wins.

While Hargett says his 12-point lead over Chapman indicates he will win the runoff, it may be that 42 percent is still the largest vote a Republican can hope to gain in a local race in this district. Vice President George Bush and Phil Gramm have scheduled return visits to the district prior to the runoff, while Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, Rep. Jim Wright and Gov. Mark White are busy scheduling fundraisers for Chapman.

Should Hargett lose, it will be a blow to Gramm's crusade and to his bid for dominance in the state Republican Party. Whatever the outcome, the legacy of Wright Patman at this moment in the First Congressional District amounts to little more than the local lake that bears his name.

Geoffrey Rips is the editor of the *Texas Observer*.

foundly political, deeply personal movement. Our mission is nothing short of social, legal, economic and political equality for all American women."

But within the feminist movement, some think the NWPC is a club for rich white women. That's why a separate organization, the National Political Congress of Black Women, was formed last year when black female delegates to the 1984 Democratic National Convention became disgruntled with the Women's Caucus, run by white feminists. The newly formed group held its first convention this year in Atlanta on June 7. "Black women are loyal party workers and have a voter participation rate of over 57 percent, but do not receive the recognition or respect from the party that is commensurate with their involvement," said former U.S. Rep. Shirley Chisholm, chair of the new group.

And Mary Berry, U.S. Civil Rights Commissioner, told the delegates at the National Women's Political Caucus, "I resent talking about women's rights as if it's not civil rights, because the women's rights movement is part of the civil rights movement. Although some of my best friends are white women, they are not the only women."

In what appeared to be an attempt to heal this rift among political women, the caucus elected a non-white as chair for the first time in its history. Irene Natividad, a 36-year-old Filipino-American who is a founder of the Democratic National Committee's Asian-Pacific Caucus, defeated white Atlanta businesswoman Linda Hallenborg by a vote of 312-262.

The election may have been decided in a speech endorsing Natividad written by Gloria Steinem and delivered by former Republican National Chair Mary Louise Smith. The speech urged a new coalition of the historical alliance of feminists and abolitionists. "The greatest problem is when natural allies come apart," Smith said. "And we must send a signal that we will not allow racial division among women."

In her acceptance speech Natividad said, "Let us open our arms and broaden our membership to more women—minorities, Republicans and women of limited incomes." She also rejected suggestions that the caucus should move toward centrist conservative politics. "I believe those who think we should trim our sails and steer our course in compliance with the political winds of the day are all wet," she said. "We should not live in mainstream America—we should lead it."

Hugh Merrill is an Atlanta-based journalist.

originator, Rev. Leon Sullivan, had just weeks before reversed his long held opposition to divestment and backed the economic sanctions adopted by Congress. He also called for full divestment in two years, if apartheid endures. But the Philadelphia minister and General Motors vice president seems saddled with a dubious immortality, his principles having acquired a life of their own.

One decision remains for the UC divestment movement in this round: whether to participate in the advisory committee the regents will establish. There is strong sentiment against it. "We've made no decision, but the immediate response was not to seek and not to accept participation," Simmons said.

Student reaction.

On the student side, the reaction was similar. "Everyone intends to denounce it as fraud, but the question is whether it's stronger to do that from inside," says Greg Schultz, a member of the Association of Graduate Student Employees and the divestment coalition steering committee. Schultz favors working inside, but notes that this is a minority position.

Regent Yuri Wada, a longtime divestment backer who voted for both the Brown and the Gardner plans, advocates participation. "I was very tempted to vote no on Gardner, but thought we should vote to at least do something," he said. "A lot will

depend on the quality of people selected."

Could anything have changed the outcome of the vote? Divestment advocates don't think so. "The movement changed the terms of public debate, but I don't think it changed regents' minds," says UC sociology professor Tod Gitlin. "Most regents aren't public officials, and they don't have to respond to changes in public attitude."

But changing public attitudes have changed the climate in the state legislature. On the heels of the regents' decision the State Assembly passed Assemblywoman Maxine Waters' bill to gradually divest state pension funds from firms with South Africa ties, by a vote of 44 to 24. Waters has carried similar legislation for six years, but this is the first time it hasn't been routinely preceded by the adjective "quixotic." The bill would also force the regents to invest the \$12-\$14 million the state legislature annually contributes to UC retirement funds in South Africa-free concerns. Waters' bill is in committee in the State Senate, where it will likely face tougher opposition than in the Assembly.

In Berkeley the anti-apartheid coalition may change, or at least widen its focus, to include boycotts of South African-made goods and stores that sell them. But divestment will remain an issue, especially as fighting increases in South Africa. "We're going to keep reaching out to faculty and staff," said Simmons. "There will be more of the same in the fall."

By William Gasperini

MANAGUA

ON JUNE 28, 1979, 14-YEAR-OLD Favio Rocha was battling alongside scores of other guerrillas in Managua's eastern neighborhoods amid intensive bombing by then dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guard. As night fell, word came from the mysterious Sandinista leader "Roque" that combatants were to quietly retreat 20 miles away to Masaya in order to regroup and prepare a final assault on the capital.

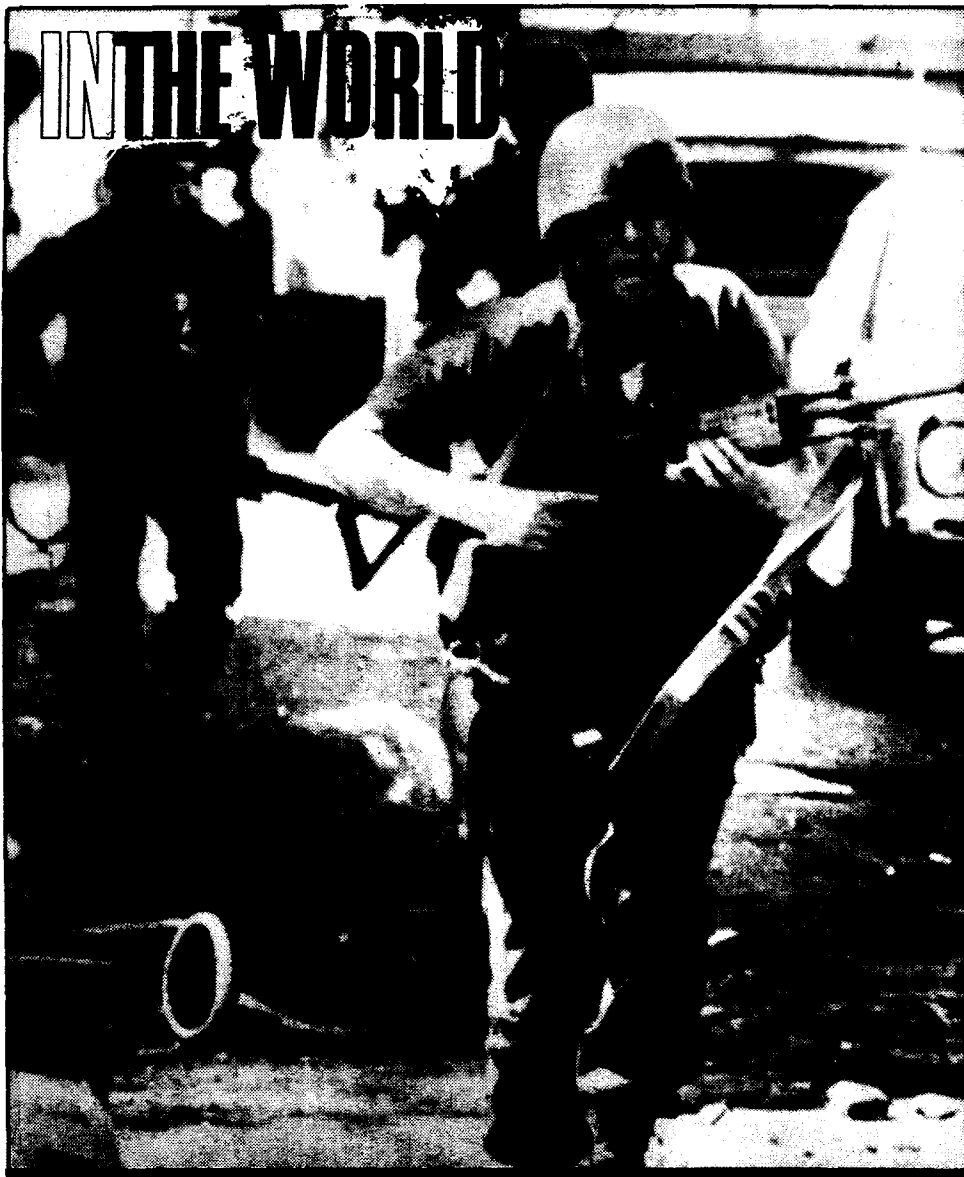
Thus began the famous *replieje*, a tactical retreat that led immediately to the final battle of the Nicaraguan revolution. More than 6,000 guerrillas slipped past roadblocks that moonlit night as supporters clanged pots and pans to distract the guards.

On June 28 this year, Rocha retraced the steps he had taken in 1979 for the first time, in the annual re-enactment of the event. This time 70,000 people, most in the "people's militias," took part and their "retreat" was anything but quiet. Although bombs are not falling on Managua neighborhoods, Nicaragua is again under fire and the *replieje* took on new significance.

"The same enemy that bombed our cities, assassinated our people, attacks us once again, using the mercenary forces [the Guard under Somoza, the *contras* today]," President Daniel Ortega told the crowd gathered in Managua as it readied to march. "Now they say U.S. troops may be sent if we acquire sophisticated arms such as atomic weapons. I say Nicaragua already has *una bomba atomica*, which is the fighting spirit of our people."

Ortega then led off the march almost at a jogging pace, winding through *barrios* of Managua enroute to Masaya accompanied by Vice President Sergio Ramirez, "Roque" Commander Nunez, now president of the National Assembly, and most key members of the cabinet. Thousands lined the route, cheering as the president passed and offering water to the marchers.

For Favio Rocha, now a university student and worker with the Agrarian Reform Ministry, this *replieje* was very different from the original. "In 1979, we felt demoralized having to retreat, understanding that it was necessary but also temporarily defeated, carrying dozens of wounded," he said. "This time morale was the whole point: a demonstration to the whole world of our readiness to defend the revolution at all costs. To do otherwise would poison the memory of all the heroes and martyrs who fell." After arriving at Masaya at dawn, Commander Nunez told the tired but spirited marchers the 1985 *replieje* was



Nicaraguan National Guard troops move through Masaya in a June 8 counterattack on Sandinista-held positions.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Nicaragua is under fire once again

the largest ever and would send a message northward.

Passage of the Foley Amendment in the U.S. House of Representatives the day before authorizing use of U.S. troops in Nicaragua under certain conditions gave the march a sense of urgency. After several weeks of increased tensions due once again to events far beyond Nicaragua, including the attack on U.S. Marines in San Salvador (see story page 3) and the hostage drama in Beirut, the *replieje* appeared to lift many Nicaraguans' spirits as the country prepared to celebrate six years of revolution

on July 19.

Earlier in the week, tanks and armored vehicles were deployed around Managua and in western provinces, partly in response to news reports of the "feasibility" of an invasion. In one speech Ortega drew parallels to October 1983 when events in Lebanon occurred simultaneously with the invasion of Grenada. Nicaragua, he said, would never be another Grenada. At the same time, he blasted Reagan administration policies for creating the conditions under which "terrorist" actions occur.

Ortega called Washington's insinuations

that Nicaragua was somehow behind the Salvadoran attack "reckless and irresponsible," adding to the mounting war climate both in the U.S. and in Central America. Under the Foley measure, Reagan can send troops by terming any action "terrorist" or aimed at U.S. citizens or property—notably the embassy. Sandinista leaders have said that an incident such as a CIA-sponsored attempt on the life of newly ordained Cardinal Obando y Bravo or even embassy personnel could be a provocation to justify a U.S. invasion.

Ortega also charged Reagan with being selective in what he considers "terrorist." He said Reagan has chosen to ignore such acts as the kidnapping of Regina Schemann, a West German biologist working in Nicaragua held by the rebel Miskito Indian group MISURA since June 14. The group has demanded the release of several Miskito prisoners for her freedom.

One of those prisoners was a MISURA commander named Edward Panting, who died under mysterious circumstances in a remote jungle camp. In a speech June 27 to indigenous leaders in Managua, discussing the ongoing autonomy plan for the Atlantic coast, Interior Minister Tomas Borge said Panting had not been a prisoner of the Sandinista army, but had been key to negotiations between the government and MISURA, the stronger of two Miskito groups fighting the government.

Discussions with MISURA resulted in a ceasefire in the northern Atlantic coast region, allowing thousands of Miskitos to return to their home communities along the Coco River from where they were evacuated by force in 1982 as *contra* attacks increased.

"The assassination of Edward Panting came under direct orders of the CIA, as he was the person who reached the agreement with us May 17," Borge claimed. "His death is part of the plan to prevent a peaceful settlement in the region and destroy the autonomy process." The autonomy plan concedes certain political and economic independence to ethnic peoples on the coast.

Borge charged a dissident faction of MISURA with responsibility for the assassination and for Schemann's kidnapping. By killing the leader and then demanding his "release," Borge says, the group wanted it to appear that the Sandinistas were responsible, sowing further distrust among Miskitos of Managua's intentions.

William Gasperini is *In These Times'* Nicaragua correspondent.

IRELAND

Irish government suffers serious losses at the polls

By Thomas Kiely

IRELAND'S CENTER-LEFT COALITION government suffered serious losses in local elections held June 20. The results point to the electorate's strong disapproval of the government's handling of unemployment—18 percent nationwide, more than 50 percent in some areas in Dublin—the rising crime rate and inequitable taxes.

Prime Minister Garrett FitzGerald's Fine Gael Party, and his junior partner in coalition, the Labour Party, finished so poorly, that some commentators wonder if the government will last its full term. Yet the vote showed no clear consensus for alternatives. All opposition parties gained seats at the government's expense, regardless of ideology. And voter apathy was widespread—only 57 percent of the electorate cast ballots, which is low by Irish standards. In some areas the turnout was less than 30 percent.

The right-wing Fianna Fail Party scored the largest gains. In Ireland, the political identities of the two largest parties do not fall neatly along a left-right divide. Fianna Fail, the nationalist party, turned toward the right in the last two decades to defend its hard-line stand on the north against the pluralist, secular rhetoric of the once right-wing, now more center-liberal Fine Gael Party. But the two often flank each others' left or right, and often blur in the middle. Fianna Fail increased its vote in Dublin by 13 percent, taking half the seats on the council and ensuring a Fianna Fail lord mayor—the first in more than 20 years.

Nationwide, Fianna Fail took 46 percent of the vote to Fine Gael's 30 percent and Labour's 8 percent. The count prompted Fianna Fail leader, Charles Haughey, to predict that his party will sweep the present government out of office by a landslide in the 1987 general election.

In contrast, the Labour Party vote dropped by about a third since the last local

elections in 1979. In Dublin its vote was cut in half. Although in 1979 one out of five Dublin voters cast a ballot for Labour. In this election just one out of 10 did. The working-class districts in Ireland's capital city have always been the party's traditional strength. The defection of these voters to other parties prompted the resignation of Labour's General Secretary Colm O'Brian.

Shortly after he resigned, O'Brian speculated that the vote presaged Ireland's swing to the right. "There are fewer left members sitting on corporations now than there were before the elections," he told *In These Times*.

He brusquely dismissed the suggestion, advanced by some members of his party, that Labour should abandon coalition. Such a move would be "inappropriate," he said. "The Labour Party is unique among European Socialist Parties in that the delegates themselves made the decision to join coalition." Any change in that position "must come from the delegates, not from the leadership. And not in mid-term."

O'Brian added that the Labour Party will re-evaluate its current political and economic strategies and will analyse its dramatic decline in the last 15 years. (In 1969, four years before Labour joined coalition with Fine Gael, it drew 28.3 percent of the vote.)

The Labour Party lost votes to the left as well as to the right. Tiny left parties such

as the Democratic Socialist Party and the Waterford People's Party celebrated successes that cost O'Brian's party. Yet beyond anti-government sentiments, it is too early to gauge the drift of voters' feelings.

The Workers' Party, a Eurocommunist Party formed by the leadership of the Official IRA shortly after it abandoned all military activity to the Provisionals in the mid-'70s, captured nearly 10 percent of the Dublin vote and displaced Labour as the major left party in the capital city.

Sinn Fein's vote increased substantially, and it gained 11 additional seats nationwide, for a total of 39—more than half the number of seats held by Labour.

At the annual Wolfe Tone commemoration on June 24, Sinn Fein chair Sean McManus called the election results a "vast boost" to his party's commitment to build a relevant and revolutionary political organization. A day later the Workers' Party leader Tomas Mac Giolla claimed that "politics in this country has changed." And Charles Haughey said that his party recognized, in the voters' support, a need for a "positive and effective" Fianna Fail response.

But these three parties have almost nothing in common except that they all stood against an unpopular government. And the splintered vote has little to say in any party's favor.

BULGARIAN CONNECTION

A method to Agca's madness?

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

WITH THE WHOLE WORLD watching, unsuccessful papal assassin Mehmet Ali Agca has been trying to put on a good show in the Rome trial of his alleged accomplices, both Turkish and Bulgarian. Under lengthy questioning by Judge Severino Santiapichi, Agca has displayed an unabashed willingness to say everything and its opposite.

On June 19 Agca spiced up his testimony by spontaneously dropping a name he could expect might be more interesting to Italian journalists than Jesus Christ: Francesco Pazienza. For those who see no evidence that the hand of Moscow guided Agca by way of the Bulgarians, and who consider the "Bulgarian connection" a figment of the Western imagination, the real mystery in the case is exactly what prompted Agca to accuse the Bulgarians. This is where the name of Francesco Pazienza rings bells.

To many connoisseurs of the P2 Masonic Lodge scandals, Pazienza has seemed the likeliest key to the Bulgarian connection puzzle. A glamorous and high-flying con man currently fighting off extradition from New York to Italy, Pazienza at the time had all the right connections—plus the imagination and the nerve—to have hatched the Bulgarian angle to Agca's Turkish crime.

In the early '80s, flaunting his connections with the CIA and its French counterpart, the SDECE, Pazienza helped bring the Italian military intelligence agency SISMI under the influence of the Georgetown think tank, the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), and its ideologues keen to pin the "international terrorism" rap on Moscow. In those days, Pazienza seemed to be manipulating just about everybody who was anybody in Italy. Among other things, he was in the middle of a shady deal to ransom a kidnapped Christian Democrat from the Red Brigades through the good offices of a Neopolitan gangster, Raffaele Cutolo, holding court in Ascoli Piceno prison. This prison, controlled by Cutolo's friends, is where Agca was put after his first rapid July 1981 trial and conviction for shooting Pope John Paul II the previous May 13.

"I met Francesco Pazienza in Ascoli Piceno in March, April 1982," Agca said on June 19. "He asked me to collaborate. He boasted of being friends with Kadhafi and working for an embassy. He promised me freedom and a French passport."

A couple of days before this statement, Cutolo's former jail mate Giovanni Pandico, who has "repented" and turned state's evidence at the big mafia trial in Naples, claimed in an interview in *Espresso* that former SISMI agents got Agca to incriminate the Bulgarians with combined threats and enticements. Cutolo had heard that he was to be "accidentally killed" during a transfer from Ascoli Piceno to another prison.

Alarmed, he got in touch with Pazienza and his colleague, Gen. Pietro Musumeci. Musumeci then secretly visited Ascoli Piceno on March 1, 1982, and told Cutolo he could avoid the fatal prison transfer by getting Agca to confess. Musumeci specified that Agca must accuse Bulgarians and the Soviet Union. According to Pandico, Cutolo agreed and he and the prison chaplain easily persuaded Agca to go along.

Agca denied Pandico's story. Then, taking the judge's call for "patience (*pazienza*)" as a cue, the Turkish killer abruptly brought in Francesco Pazienza. Up until then, the possibility that Agca had been coached in prison by the talented Pazienza was most likely the secret hypothesis of many Italian journalists fol-

lowing the case. But the mere fact of being uttered out loud by the incredible Ali Agca has, if anything, weakened the plausibility of the Pazienza hypothesis. This hypothesis was deduced from other evidence about Pazienza's career gathered during investigation into the secret conspiratorial P2 Masonic Lodge.

The new James Bond.

It is almost too tempting to blame everything on Pazienza, who has the charisma of a fictional adventure hero. In the winter of 1979-80 Pazienza returned to Italy from a mysterious international career as associate of Jacques Cousteau, friend of Alexander Haig and adviser to Saudi princes, bedazzling his compatriots with his good looks, fluent command of English, French, Spanish and Arabic and what one former associate called his "diabolical intelligence."

From then until the summer of 1982,

First there was the farcical "Billygate" affair. The two went around bragging to Rome journalists, who later testified to the P2 commission, about how Pazienza had helped his friend Ledeen collect damaging evidence about President Jimmy Carter's brother Billy, his drunken escapades in the Rome Hilton and relations with Kadhafi. Pazienza's connections in the Arab world may have come in handy. One of the charges brought against him in Italy is misuse of SISMI (where he had just been taken on as Santovito's favorite free-wheeler) to spy on President Carter's brother.

Ledeen passed along the information to the Republican Party and published it in the middle of Reagan's 1980 campaign. Whether or not the scandal made any difference to the outcome of the American election, it gave Ledeen and Pazienza a certain clout in Italy. The incident was unsavory, to be sure. But it helped feed speculation that Reagan himself perhaps owed a debt



when he moved to New York after Ambrosiano banker Roberto Calvi was found mysteriously hanged from Black Friar's Bridge in London, Pazienza was a very busy man with a finger in what seemed like every lucrative pie in Italy. Between giving advice to Calvi, Vatican banker Paul Marcinkus and SISMI chief Gen. Giuseppe Santovito, Pazienza would try to solve Sophia Loren's tax problems or rush off to the Riviera to offer counsel to his friend the Princess Ashraf of Iran.

Christian Democratic leader Fiamino Piccoli later told the P2 parliamentary investigation that Francesco Pazienza was "appreciated without reserve in political and business circles and Rome high society."

With none of the discretion expected of a spook, Pazienza let it be understood that he more or less represented the CIA in Italy. In this he was at first helped along by someone much more drab than himself, Michael Ledeen, the CSIS' Italian Communist-watcher. Ledeen was already known to Italian political observers for his journalistic attacks on the Italian Communist Party (PCI), sometimes in tandem with Claire Sterling, back around the big PCI electoral success of 1976. He made another big splash in tandem with Pazienza in 1980.

of gratitude to the two operators who had helped defeat Carter.

The pre-election Billygate caper was followed by a post-election lame-duck period, when Pazienza and Ledeen practically took over Italian-American relations. Carter's Ambassador Richard Gardner was ignored (although his wife, according to P2 testimony, was being given the same kind of attention by Pazienza as that given to Billy Carter). The CSIS was in charge of Reagan's transition team for national security and foreign affairs. Pazienza could, and did, boast of his friendship with new Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who had introduced him to the CSIS and Ledeen. Pazienza knew Kissinger and often met with James Schlesinger, other CSIS regulars.

Pazienza testified later that he took messages from, or about, the new State Department, where Michael Ledeen was going in as Haig's advisor on Italy and terrorism, to Italian Foreign Minister Colombo. Official investigation identified Pazienza as a consultant for Italy to Robert Kupperman, currently the CSIS expert on "international terrorism" and co-chairman, with Zbigniew Brzezinski, of the CSIS "steering committee on terrorism" that six months ago put out a report recommending an end to official

skepticism about Bulgarian and Soviet complicity in the papal assassination attempt.

In December 1980, Pazienza helped interest SISMI in "terrorist games," a new version of war games on closed-circuit television developed by CSIS and adopted "even by the White House," Pazienza testified later. Meanwhile, Ledeen was seeking to set up anti-Communist "counter-guerrilla training camps."

A curious aspect of the Ledeen-Pazienza partnership is that Pazienza was a man with contacts in the Arab world, whereas Ledeen is known for his strong pro-Israeli connections. Pazienza has often boasted that he set up the first diplomatic contact between the Palestine Liberation Organization

A glamorous con man, Pazienza had all the right connections to have hatched the Bulgarian angle to Agca's crime.

(PLO) and the Vatican in the form of a papal audience for a Catholic Palestinian adviser to Arafat. Pazienza has said that his collaboration with Ledeen lasted three or four months and had to do with the Mideast. He mentioned "penetrating the PLO" to find out its attitude toward the Reagan administration.

On Dec. 1, 1983, Judge Dominico Sico arrested the head of SISMI, Gen. Santovito, then in the last stages of cirrhosis of the liver (he died two months later), and issued a mandate for the arrest of Pazienza. They are accused of many abuses of SISMI power during the period when Pazienza seemed to have taken over the agency from the Bourbon-loving old general who had been put in charge of scandal-ridden military intelligence in 1978 and didn't know what to do with it.

The power of bluff.

Pazienza's incredible career seems to owe a lot to the power of bluff in a bewildered world of billionaires and bankers who no longer know where to get a return on their capital, rich people scared of Communism and of each other, intelligence chiefs without intelligence. Another factor was the servility of Italian officials seeking the cue as

Continued on page 22

By Mary Ellen Schoonmaker

SPARTA, NC

A LOCAL DISC JOCKEY WHO takes phone requests used to get calls asking him to play "Take This Job and Shove It" and dedicate it to the women of Hanes. The song would come over the radio that's piped into the Hanes knitwear plant here, and at least a few of the 350 or so women sewing men's undershirts and briefs at lightning speed would discreetly sing along. The mischief was stopped eventually—some say the plant manager called the deejay—but the sentiment lingers.

That's not the image that comes across in the Hanes "Inspector 12" TV commercial featuring a bunch of women kidding with a stern yet motherly inspector. In fact, most Hanes workers have no time to kid with anyone.

Listen to the comments of a woman from the Sparta plant this spring: "I sew faster than a jet plane. Sometimes I'm so tore up and shakin', I can't eat a bite. When I come home, I feel like one big heart a-beatin', exhausted."

Making underwear is hard work. The women talk with a touch of pride about the different jobs that go into producing one undershirt: set sleeve—"the hardest"—first shoulder, second shoulder, hem bottoms. And about how they each sew more than 3,000 sleeves or shoulders or hems each day. They are paid by the piece, and they sew by the bundle, whirring away, 36 shirts to a bundle, about 100 bundles a day. At this rate, they can earn about \$13,000 a year.

They also talk a lot about the "new method," an even faster way of sewing with a mandatory production quota, instituted by Hanes to meet a big jump in imports and competition from its rival, Fruit of the Loom. The women complain about the pressure on them to make 100 percent of the quota: their names and production rates are put up on the bulletin board in the plant, and if they don't keep up they can be fired.

"A lot of the girls have been crying and upset," said one Sparta worker. "If you sit beside someone 10-12 years and see them crying, it's gonna concern you. I asked the trainer, 'Why are you doing that?' and she told me, 'You better be worrying about you, about losing your job.'"

The textile industry is facing ferocious competition these days, from countries where workers are paid as little as 12 cents an hour—or \$5 a week—and Hanes, like other manufacturers, has been under the gun. For the women I talked with this spring in a living room in Sparta, this meant running harder to stand still. It meant scrambling to keep a job that actually had a chance of hurting them, since four of the six women present had been out on medical leave at one time or another for hand and arm ailments that they believe came from their job at Hanes. The women joked with each other, but underneath ran a current of tension.

Patsy Love and her sister both worked at the Sparta plant until this spring, and she hoped her daughter might grow up to follow in their footsteps. But she was fired in March because of what the local plant manager contended was an intolerable outburst over the new method: she became upset at a meeting in his office where she was told her production rate was too low.

"I told him I was doing my best. Every time you go into his office, you come out crying," Love said. Her sister was fired in May because she was not making 100 percent. "I don't want my daughter to work there anymore," Love added, "not since the new method."

Another woman told of a friend who stayed home from work when she menstruated; she was afraid to risk having to leave her sewing machine to go to the bathroom and not make 100 percent.

The new method.

Hanes says the new method "provides the opportunity" for workers to make more money, and that more than half the workers in Hanes plants where it is being phased in

are making the same or higher wages than before it was introduced. But even Hanes concedes that about 40 percent of the workers currently are making less money than before. Hanes is vague on the details, but says the program is designed to enable the company to become more productive and more cost efficient. Some women at Sparta say that simply means doing more work for less money.

A Hanes spokeswoman claimed that most employees using the new method liked it. But a company vice president admitted to two nuns active among the workers that the company was facing a union election last winter at Sparta because of it. The union, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, cancelled the vote after losing heavily at a nearby plant in Galax, Va., in November. The union claims the Galax workers were afraid the plant would close if it won, a notion Hanes furthered by putting a big photo of padlocked gates and empty parking lots on display before the vote.

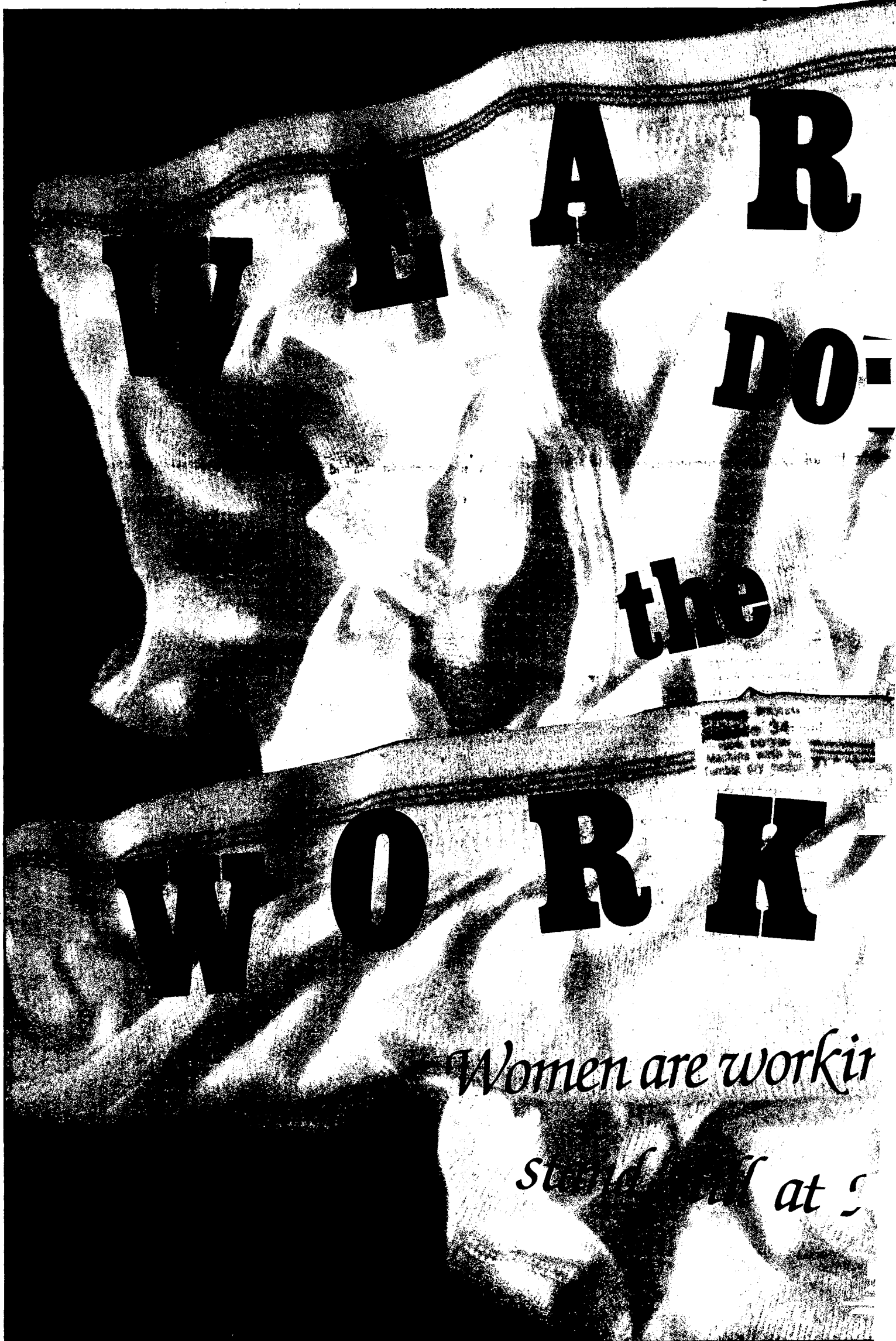
"You couldn't miss it," said Burlene Burdette, a quality control worker "just like Inspector 12" at Galax. "The women saw it as a vote to close. Hanes couldn't fight the union and foreign imports. The only way they could stay open would be by raising production quotas."

Raising production is the last thing Hanes workers want to hear about, according to a survey of 927 employees at 10 Hanes locations taken by the two nuns, Sister Imelda Maurer and Sister Bernie Galvin. The nuns found the most frequent complaint is that the production rate is too high. Almost 90 percent of those answering the nuns' questionnaire said they would like to see it lowered.

On the other hand, jobs in this part of the Carolinas, with its rolling hills dotted by dairy and tobacco farms and small towns with one or two factories, are scarce. In Sparta, most people pin their hopes on a job at Hanes or a pipe factory, since the only other places to work are a Hardee's restaurant and a few stores on main street.

"The men have to leave town to get jobs," Sister Bernie said.

Since they began talking to plant workers about three years ago around Bennettsville, S.C., where they live, Sister Bernie and Sister Imelda have been a particularly annoying thorn in Hanes' side. Members of the Sisters of Divine Providence, they take the spirit of their mission work from a pastoral letter written by the Roman Catholic bishops of Appalachia a decade ago that contrasted the richness of the region's culture and resources with the powerlessness of its people. The nuns taught sugar cane workers during the '70s in Broussard, La., a small community where many whites did not approve of their working on the black side of town. Before settling in Bennettsville, they worked night-shift janitorial jobs in a cotton mill for a few months to see what it was like: Sister Bernie, a feisty woman with a sharp sense of humor, mopped lint, while soft-spoken Sister Imelda lugged around a 75-pound air compressor to clean lint off the weaving machines.



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Library Journal

IPS, 1981
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Notes on American Interventions in the Third World

Eqbal Ahmad

A profile of U.S. military intervention, this essay illumines the connections between political culture and the violent conduct of foreign policy.

IPS, 1980
13 pages, \$1.00

They've spent the past few years trying to improve working conditions at Hanes, concentrating on one issue: the incidence of tendinitis and related wrist and arm ailments that they claim come from the rapid, repetitive movements that the sewing of underwear and hosiery entails.

Hazards of the job.

At least a dozen women at Sparta have been on and off medical leave with tendinitis for months at a time over the last year or so. The nuns' interest in those workers has made the local plant manager nervous, so nervous that he recently handed out stamped envelopes at the plant, telling the workers to write to the sisters to leave them alone; he said he'd mail the letters. Hardly anyone did.

Tendinitis, carpal tunnel syndrome and related hand disorders are believed to afflict possibly hundreds of thousands of workers

in assembly-line jobs of all kinds. The nuns believe the conditions they see in Hanes workers are directly linked to the company's productivity quotas and the way the women do the same few motions over and over again. Publicity they helped generate against Hanes two years ago, holding press conferences on Tendinitis in Chicago where Hanes' parent company, Sara Lee Corp., is based, prodding the company into assembling a medical task force and studying the ailment. Based on the study, Hanes projects that only 3.5 percent of some 8,000 manufacturing workers have any evidence or degree of tendinitis. That would come out to about 280 workers.

In the nuns' recent unscientific poll, 797 women, or 87 percent of those answering the questionnaire, said they had one or more of over a dozen symptoms of the ailment,

such as pain in their wrists, elbows or shoulders, numbness or tingling in their fingers, loss of grip or swelling of joints. More than three-quarters said they experienced pain on the job at some time.

Sister Bernie said she knows of women who take prescription pain-killers regularly while working. She says she took a woman to the hospital once to have her stomach pumped because she had taken so many pain pills for her arms.

The pain can be continual. "It hurts the whole time, like a toothache," said Mary Mabe, a Sparta worker. The ailment can leave you without the strength to do ordinary housework, can cause trouble sleeping and can make you so irritable you take it out on your family, she said. "That's not fair to the young ones looking up to you."

The nuns also say they know of many cases of surgery related to tendinitis, at least 80 cases, but that Hanes refuses to give them a surgery figure. "It would be embarrassing," Sister Imelda said. "Public disclosure of the number of surgeries would discredit the entire medical task force report."

Elynor Williams, director of corporate affairs for Hanes in Winston-Salem, N.C., said there's "no significant evidence that Hanes employees are developing irreversible impairments." Whatever hand and arm ailments occur are "temporary, reversible conditions that tend to go away with time and proper treatment."

She said tendinitis can occur not only at the workplace, but also at home, if a person knits, or bowls, or plays golf or tennis, and one person may have more of a predisposition to it than others. "If they get rest and the proper treatment, such as megavitamins and heat treatment, then they won't have it again," she added.

She said Hanes has never denied the condition exists and has taken many steps to combat it through an ongoing ergonomics program. These include a rehabilitation program, whereby workers returning from sick leave for arm ailments are gradually built back up to their former workload. "I have heard it's successful and does work" Williams says of the program.

The nuns hear otherwise. "Some women have gone through rehabilitation seven times," Sister Bernie said. Fay Williams, who has worked at the Galax plant for more than 20 years, said she was out five months last year with tendinitis, and did all right when she came back and worked slowly. "But when they speeded me up, it came back," she said. Now she works at about 83 percent of the production quota, inspecting and folding about 100 bundles of underwear a day.

Linda Davis had worked at the Sparta plant about four years when in May 1981 she lifted a bundle of undershirts with one hand and threw it over her shoulder, injuring her wrist. "It was rush, rush, rush," she said. "I should have lifted it with two hands."

Since then she has had surgery on the wrist twice and has not worked at all except for about four months last year at Sparta in a light sewing job. Even doing that "about killed me," she said. "I was wearing braces on both my wrists and elbows."

She says she was laid off from that job because she couldn't keep up, and no other job was available. She was told it wasn't fair to give her a light-duty job as a permanent assignment without offering it to more senior employees. But she believes she was discarded because of her handicap.

She hired an attorney to help her get some kind of final compensation from Hanes. Hanes offered her a settlement of \$5,000, but she turned it down, hoping for more. At 38, she believes she will never again be able to work full-time. "I'm glad to be out," she said in a tired voice, "but I hate to know they got the best of me."

Routine delay.

The fight to prove a tendinitis problem is work-related can be a long, drawn-out process. Woodrow W. Gunter II, an attorney in Rockingham, N.C., who has represented 10 Hanes workers in compensation cases, defines workers' compensation as a "quick replacement of wages being lost because of on-the-job injury or occupational dis-

ease." But he said in his experience with Hanes delay has been routine.

For instance, workers often see several doctors before a final diagnosis is made, he said. Some Hanes workers say that can be like getting on a merry-go-round. "When one doctor says it is tendinitis, the company sends you to more and more of their own doctors," one woman wrote in the nuns' questionnaire. Gunter said some of these doctors originally believed the tendinitis they were seeing was not work-related, "but so many women were being sent to them, they finally realized it was."

Even if a worker wins a settlement, there can be more delays, according to Gunter. "It can be six to nine months between the settlement and the check," he said. "That's not the situation with any other company in this country, or in my experience."

Hanes says it has nothing to do with the compensation process, which is handled by its insurance company, and that it helps workers by providing them with interim medical disability payments, which are then paid back by the worker when the compensation benefits start. Gunter points out, however, that some disability payments average about \$50-75 a month, while compensation benefits are two-thirds of a worker's weekly salary.

Five of Gunter's cases against Hanes have been settled in the client's favor, he says. The others are pending. "I'm seeing some improvement in Hanes' response," he said.

The dominance of the textile industry in the rural South fosters a "mill mentality, where we train our kids to stick to textiles," said Dr. Fred McQueen, a family practitioner who has treated about 15 Hanes workers for tendinitis in Hamlet, N.C. And that makes it harder for individual workers to challenge their employer, even at the cost of their health. "Most come to see me at the point they can't take it anymore," McQueen said. "They love Hanes because it's their livelihood."

Billie Caudill worked at Sparta for 19 years before she quit this spring. Both she and her sister, Sue White, had been on medical leave with tendinitis and had hired attorneys to fight for worker's compensation. When she quit, the plant manager told her not to put tendinitis down as the reason she was leaving, that it might make it harder for her to get another job. She put it down anyway, and so did her sister. Now both are clerking at a convenience store in town. Caudill said, "I used to pray all night, 'God, show me what I can do, I can't go on like this.'"

In this part of the Bible Belt, religion is often the pillar in people's uncertain lives. "The workers' sense of responsibility is high," said John Barry, an organizer for the textile workers who was active in the Sparta and Galax campaigns. "Religion is used here like Marx said it would be: that's how you save your soul, you work hard. The workers are conscientious, they want to be productive, they get worried and bothered when they are told they are not doing a good job. The company knows that and both uses and abuses it."

Every year, for example, Hanes invites all the ministers in the Galax area to a dinner and tour of the plant, Galax workers say. The ministers are also allowed to choose three free gifts from among Hanes products. The payoff for this exercise in community relations can be well worth a couple of hundred free t-shirts. During the union campaign in Galax, says a worker, one minister wrote to the members of his congregation who worked at Hanes telling them it wasn't God's will to vote for the union. "Hanes knows exactly what it's doing," Barry said.

There are probably many Hanes workers who believe it's not God's will to fight for better working conditions, either. On a tour of the Sparta plant this spring, Sister Imelda said she passed a woman sewing away and singing along with the gospel song on the piped-in radio. "I don't know the name of the hymn," Sister Imelda said, "but she was singing something about 'that glorious crown up yonder.'"

Mary Ellen Schoonmaker is a New York-based journalist.



EDITORIAL

The series of terrorist acts, starting with the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 and culminating in the June 20 killing of four Marines, two American businessmen and six others in San Salvador, has left the Reagan administration confounded and the majority of Americans angry.

The president says that we are "a nation of peace and a people of justice," and that "by our very nature we are slow to anger and magnanimous in helping those in less fortunate circumstances." Most Americans tend to see themselves that way, and most individual Americans probably match Reagan's description. Most of them also seem to agree with the president that these recent murders, hijackings and abductions are "an attack on all Western civilization by uncivilized barbarians."

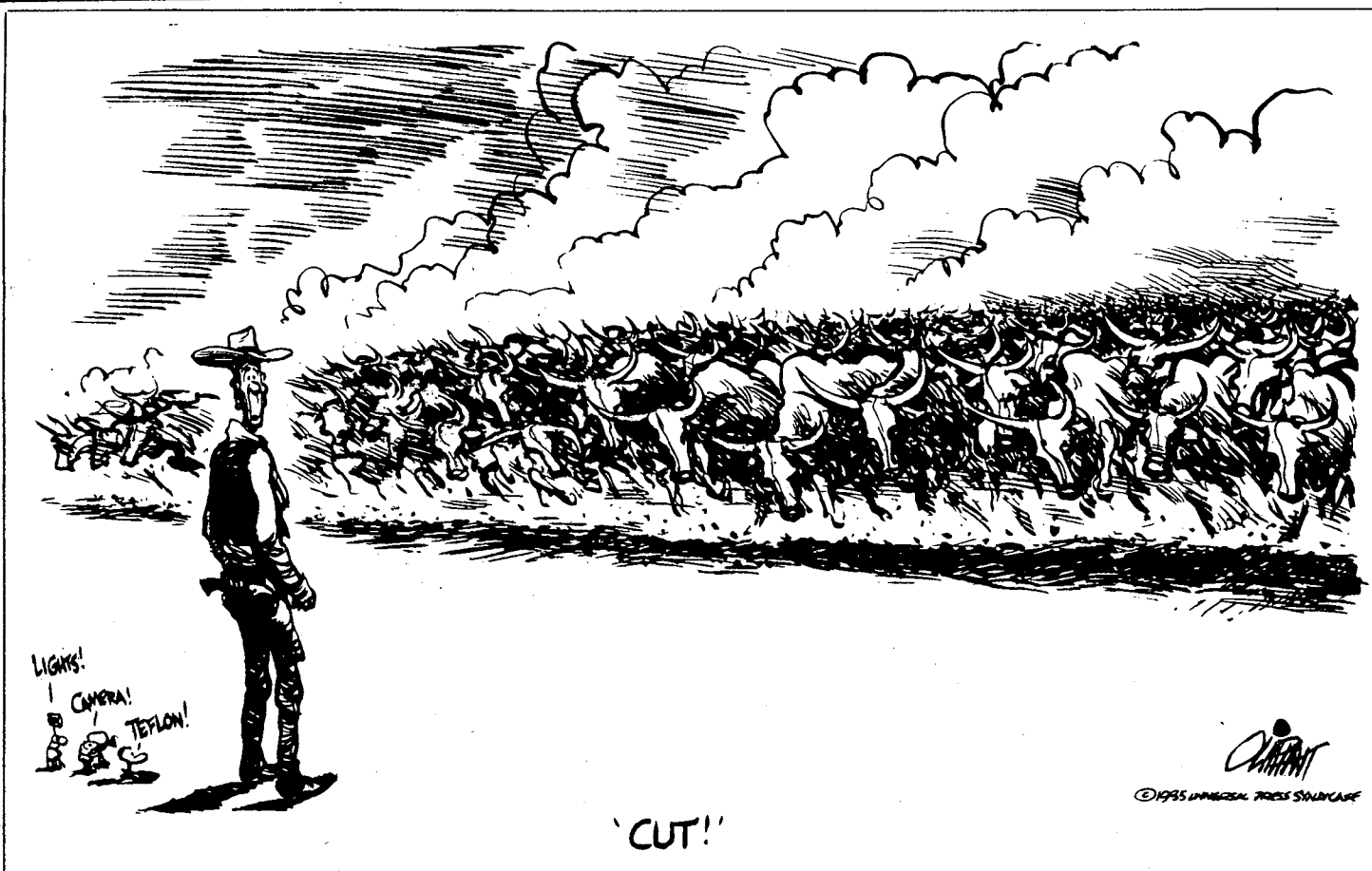
But neither President Reagan nor the media can explain why there are so many uncivilized barbarians on the loose just now. The president, most of the media and an apparent majority of the American people talk about massive retaliation, about "surgical strikes" or military escalation. Secretary of State George Shultz insists that "the problem is the terrorists." But few people in public life are asking why so much random violence now? Why so targeted against Americans?

Immediately after the June 20 guerrilla attack in San Salvador, El Salvador's Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas condemned it as an act of "excessive barbarity." But he also criticized violence by government armed forces against civilians in the countryside, which, by implication, he saw as only simple barbarity (see story page 3). And unlike Reagan the archbishop warned against "the temptation of violent measures according to the law of a tooth for a tooth." "The reaction of President Reagan to give greater military support for the anti-terrorist struggle in El Salvador can be dangerous," he said.

But if greater military aid for the run-of-the-mill barbarians in charge of El Salvador's armed forces can be dangerous, what about the present level? And, indeed, is it more barbarous to shoot down four Marines along with nine civilians sitting in a cafe than it is to bomb peasant villages and kill hundreds of men, women and children, which is precisely what the Reagan administration has taught the Salvadoran army to do?

Born of barbarism.

The guerrillas did commit a barbaric act, but theirs is a barbarism born of bar-



There's a time to sow and a time to reap

barism. The American people react with anger and frustration over the guerrillas' attacks primarily because they are attacks on Americans, but also because the initial barbarism is kept as discretely out of sight as is possible in a country with a free press.

In El Salvador the archbishop can warn against further military escalation, even though, like his predecessors, he is a prospective victim of the armed forces death squads, because everyone there knows about the barbarity of the armed forces—and of American complicity in their atrocities. But in the U.S. our free press does its best to gloss over the barbarity of the regimes aided by the administration. The effects of American military aid and covert intervention are easy enough to see. Yet they are all but ignored by the media.

Despite all the rhetoric by the president, the secretary of state and others in the administration, one thing is clear. The more we retaliate, the more we attempt to punish the terrorists, the more terrorist attacks will increase.

The reason for this is that these are not simply acts by deranged individuals, but are desperate responses to the oppressive policies of a nation that is much too powerful to confront head-on. Reagan can threaten the annihilation of Moslem Beirut or the peasantry of El Salvador, but all the Shi'ites or the guerrillas can do is pick at the fringes of American power.

But unless the president wants a worldwide escalation of Third World wars, he cannot make good on his threats. And unless he changes his policy of attempting to stop the anti-colonial movements that have been sweeping the world since the end of World War II, neither can he reduce the level of terrorism. That's why he's been hitting his head against the wall of his private office.

How different has been the response of the hostages. As their spokesman Allyn Conwell said in an ABC News interview, "Fortunately or unfortunately, whichever the case may be, we find that many in our group have a profound sympathy for the cause, or for the reasons that the Amal have in saying, 'Israel, free my people.'" Several other hostages have also said that they had been unaware of the grievances—and of the American complicity in them—of the Shi'ites. Conwell indicated this when he said, "But let's face it, if someone captured my wife and children and had them across the border, I also would be taking drastic action and doing things that would indeed be against my principles to secure their freedom."

Pointing the finger.

The more one learns about these uses of terror, the clearer it becomes that, contrary to George Shultz, the problem is not the terrorists but the policies of the Reagan administration. Significantly, this view got strong support two weeks ago from Gen. Wallace H. Nutting, the retiring commander of Army and Air Force combat forces in the U.S. Nutting deplored recent talk about a possible invasion of Nicaragua, which has been widely dis-

cussed—and leaked to the press—by civilian members of the Reagan administration. The general sees this talk as "counterproductive," and, according to officers in Washington, his opposition to an invasion was widely shared among senior military officers and reflected recommendations made by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the president.

"We have learned to live with Cuba for 25 years," said Nutting, who commanded American forces in Latin America from 1979 to 1983. "I think we are going to have to learn to live with Nicaragua."

Unlike the president, Nutting understands that "we are paying a high price now for what they [the Nicaraguans] call military intervention for the last 50 years. I don't think we want to do that again," he says. "I don't." He also understands that "there is a strong urge for democracy all over Latin America," and that means there should be "strong political support for reform" and "a minimum of military

George Shultz says "the problem is the terrorists," but that fails to address the question of why there are so many terrorist attacks now.

assistance.... In this case," Nutting concluded, "smaller is better; the less visible we are militarily, the better it will be."

The views of Nutting and the hostages are not those of socialists, or radicals, or even liberals. They are the views of largely apolitical Americans who do not question the motives of the current administration or its foreign policy goals.

But they are the views of people who have come face to face with present-day world realities, unencumbered by the administration's Cold War ideology. Implicit in their views is the belief that the U.S. should be a nation of peace and justice, that we should be magnanimous and that our attitude toward those in less fortunate circumstances than our own should be one of supportive assistance. None of this is possible as long as American policy is made by those now in power in this country.

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LETTERS

Free Speech

DAVID KAIRYS' REVIEW OF LEONARD W. Levy's book *Emergence of a Free Press* (ITT, May 22) repeats and endorses Levy's thesis that "the Constitution was essentially meant to adopt the existing English common law on expression." This assertion is simply wrong.

While it is true that very few of the framers believed in a free press, it is not therefore true that the Constitution allowed the federal government to prosecute for seditious libel. The First Amendment did not originally provide for a free press; it only mandated that the federal government could not pass any law "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." The states were free to regulate speech and the press as they desired. Only with the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment did the first 10 amendments become applicable against the states, thus guaranteeing complete freedom of the press.

The framers consciously adopted this scheme as a way of protecting the states against the power of the federal government. James Madison originally proposed that the free press provision be placed in Article I, Section 9 of the Constitution, among the other clauses that limit the power of the federal government vis-a-vis the states. This indicates clearly the intent of the framers was not what Levy and Kairys make it out to be.

Although speech is protected by the Constitution it is obvious that at many times our government has acted to suppress or restrict that right, so Kairys is quite right when he says that political struggle is always necessary to protect and enhance our right to say or print anything. The Constitution is the foundation of this liberty, but only by constant vigilance will it be secured for generations to come.

Steve Collins
Alexandria, Va.

David Kairys replies: Steve Collins' criticisms reflect a conception of law and legal decision-making that has been repudiated or seriously questioned by most progressive legal theorists in recent years, although it still has considerable currency.

In this conception, the law has a set, determinate meaning and requires particular results in specific cases, independent of one's values or politics. Collins says that "speech is protected by the Constitution," although sometimes the government, with the approval of the courts, has wrongly suppressed it. He has in mind, I think, a particular notion of speech that he—and I—favor. But "speech" has no neutral, natural, value-free or legally determined meaning. Particular expressive activities have been protected when judges have seen fit to interpret the Constitution as protecting them. Which ones are protected at any given time is a matter of political choice and depends mostly on the social and historical context. While it is always tempting to view our own perspectives as fair and objective—and legally required—there is no objective or value-free meaning to this or other legal terms and concepts.

This critique of the established conception of law is not only of theoretical or abstract interest. Particularly in the U.S., law is a major vehicle for convincing people that the existing social order is logical and natural rather than the result of specific historical development and political choice.

What about the gander?

MARGARET BYRNE'S ARTICLE ON THE successful use of the "necessity defense" by anti-interventionist and anti-nuclear protesters (ITT, June 12) was encouraging. But it left an important question unanswered, in fact unasked. The same week Byrne's article appeared, anti-abortion activist Juli Loesch noted in the Catholic journal *New Oxford Review* that many of her colleagues now "argue that clinic sit-ins should not be classified as civil disobedience since, in theory, these actions should be legally justified on the grounds of 'necessity.'"

Consider Byrne's example: protesters "linked arms and sat in the street, blocking a gate at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center." They were justified, she writes, because they "believed that direct, non-violent action that may be a violation of a criminal statute was necessary and required by the urgency of the situation." But suppose that right-to-life activists link arms and sit down, blocking all entrances to a Planned Parenthood clinic. Of course they believe that this action is "necessary and required by the urgency of the situation." Should a jury be entitled to acquit if enough jury members agree that abortion is murder? If so, then there will surely be a great many such actions in the near future, and a fair proportion of the protesters will be acquitted.

What should people who are against military intervention and the arms race, but who are pro-choice, think of this outcome? Assuming Margaret Byrne is pro-choice, what does she think of it?

George Scialabba
Cambridge, Mass.

Margaret Byrne replies: The Illinois "necessity" statute states that criminal conduct may be justified if the defendant reasonably believed his or her actions were necessary to avoid a greater injury. Abortion clinic protesters have attempted to use the necessity defense to justify trespassing and disorderly conduct, arguing that the greater injury they were seeking to prevent was the killing of fetuses. But the Illinois Supreme Court determined that abortion in the first trimester is a legally protected right and so cannot be considered a legally recognized injury. Abortion clinic protesters are thus precluded from using the defense.

On the other hand, U.S. intervention in Central America violates international law and is therefore a legally recognized injury that a reasonable person may, and should, seek to prevent.

All in the game

IN PHILOSOPHY THINGS ARE WHAT THEY are. In journalism editorials are written

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

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Bill Joyce
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Editor's note (with trepidation): 1. Letters are a form of dialog. Sometimes dialog requires a response, either as a result of a direct or an implied request that an answer be forthcoming. 2. Frequently authors, whether editors or not, believe they are misinterpreted, so we allow author responses. Every journal of opinion does that.

Identity crisis

IN A RECENT LETTER PETER MILLER WROTE that "A Prairie Home Companion" is a National Public Radio program (ITT, May 29). In fact, "Prairie Home Companion" is produced by Minnesota Public Radio and distributed to public radio stations by American Public Radio. Public radio stations may be, and often are, affiliated with both networks, but only public radio stations affiliated with American Public Radio may carry the show.

As a relatively young network (begun in 1982), we are continually faced with public confusion regarding this issue. Though we always enjoy hearing our fans' appreciation of our programming, let's give credit where credit is due!

Emily A. Gurnon
Assistant to the Vice President,
American Public Radio, St. Paul, Minn.

Closer than close

IN THE EDITORIAL ON REAGAN'S POLICY toward Nicaragua (ITT, April 24), you write: "In the early days of the Mexican revolution, the United States came close to invading in order to set up a government more friendly to American corporate interests, but in the end refrained...." Actually, the U.S. invaded Mexico twice during the early days of the revolution, both times under President Woodrow Wilson. The first was the landing of troops in Veracruz in 1914, and the second was Gen. John J. Pershing's excursion into Mexico in 1916 at the head of 6,000 U.S. troops in search of Pancho Villa.

There was a time when the U.S. came "close to invading." That was in 1911 when President William Howard Taft sent 20,000 U.S. troops to the Mexican border. This was immediately regarded in Mexico revolutionary circles and in labor

and Socialist circles in the U.S. as the prelude to an impending invasion to keep dictator Porfirio Díaz in power, and thus protect the investments of U.S. businessmen in Mexican factories, mines, railroads, oil fields and other enterprises. In any case, widespread protests in the U.S., especially by Socialist and labor groups, played an important part in forcing Taft to withdraw the troops.

Philip S. Foner
Professor Emeritus of History
Lincoln University, Pennsylvania

Taxes

I WAS SORELY DISAPPOINTED TO SEE JEFF Drumtra's sneaky attack on AFL-CIO tax policy (ITT, April 17). While the AFL-CIO's tactics on this or many other issues is, indeed, uninspiring. Drumtra would seem to have us believe that this might be cured if the "House of Labor" would just climb on the Bradley-Gephardt bandwagon of tax "reform." Drumtra attributes this recalcitrance as stodginess, an inability to "get with the times" as the rest of "labor's own Democratic Party" has done.

Poppycock! "Tax reform" in the age of Reagan means the selling out of one of the most important ideas of the labor movement—that a bigger burden of the cost of supporting government should be borne by those richer and therefore more able to pay. Much is made of the various loopholes by which the rich are able to evade paying this fair share and rightfully so. It's a national disgrace.

Then why don't the advocates of the new "tax reform" simply advocate closing these loopholes? Why must we move away from the idea of a progressive tax that hits wealthy people at a higher percentage of their income, just to close these loopholes? If someone were to propose as a solution to an epidemic of bank robberies that the robbers be allowed 5 percent of the bank's deposits in return for a pledge not to use guns, he would be called insane. Yet the American people are now called upon to give up the idea of a progressive income tax, and workers to accept taxes on formerly untaxed fringe benefits in order that something might be collected from the rich.

Steven Cohen
Chicago

Dobie defended

I AM A GREAT ADMIRER OF *IN THESE TIMES* and of Pat Aufderheide's work, but wounded emotion dictates a challenge to her linking the seldom seen sit-com "Dobie Gillis" with the likes of "Bachelor Father" and "Flipper."

"Dobie Gillis" is special in television history, not merely for its anti-hero Maynard G. Krebs—the beatnik who steals episode after episode from ostensible protagonist Dobie—but for the morality of its politics. Unlike the prototypical shows to follow "Dobie" in the '60s, '70s and '80s, upwardly mobile consumerism is not a foregone conclusion but a bitter-sweet challenge the all-American Dobie must confront. Invariably the would-be social climber, Dobie, is snubbed by the "yuppies" of his day, only to find real value in the genuine friendship of his less-than-trendy parents and neighborhood cronies.

"Family values" or no, the working-class Gillis family and their beatnik friends are not to be shunned by a new generation of critics, they are to be embraced.

Joel A. Millman
New York

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



PERSPECTIVES



By John Rossen

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE today, more than ever in their history as a nation, need a realistic assessment of the state of the Union, rather than the usual treacle ladled out in January and the meaningless flag-waving oratory of Independence Day.

The nation is in crisis.

Just a few short decades ago, the American people boasted the highest standard of living in the world. The United States was by far the richest, most industrially developed nation on earth, with the most favorable balance of trade in history. Internationally, it enjoyed a great "reservoir of good will" among hundreds of millions of people around the world who still drew hope and inspiration from the ideals of the American Revolution. Despite the persistence of many social inequalities and injustices, the nation was moving steadily on a course of expanding political and economic democracy. Broad programs of social services were continuously being planned and implemented.

All that has changed. The American standard of living has fallen to ninth place in the world. In almost every key category of industrial production the U.S. has been equalled or surpassed by several coun-

The state of the nation on Independence Day

tries, even by our putative world adversary, the Soviet Union, whose industrial plant east of the Urals was completely destroyed in World War II. A high level of unemployment is accepted as a permanent feature of the economy. Our great cities have become graveyards of smoke-stack industries. Millions of family farmers, who turned the "fruited plains" of the Midwest into a "breadbasket" of the world, are being driven from their land, which is falling into the hands of multinational agribusiness for quick and profitable exploitation that will leave the land barren and infertile. The national debt mounts at a yearly rate of \$200 billion, while the balance of trade has become so lopsidedly unfavorable that the U.S. faces the prospect of becoming a debtor nation.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt's observation that "one third of our nation is ill-fed, ill-housed and ill-clothed" is as true today as it was half a century ago. The rich have become ever richer and the poor poorer. As the gap widens, millions of middle-

class Americans fall to the poverty level. Children have become the sorriest victims of poverty, with two out of five children living in poverty, and half of all black children. Fifty years of social legislation is being gradually eroded, and in many cases has already been wiped out. The trade union movement, under attack by both employers and the administration in Washington, has reached a low point in numbers, power and influence.

Our society is being rapidly transformed into a moral jungle, with public and private graft and corruption endemic. Waste and corruption abound in government, and above all in the Pentagon, the greatest and most expensive rat-hole and boondoggle in human history. Greed and avarice are given carte blanche by government to rape the nation's natural resources and poison and pollute the environment. White-collar criminals who head huge multinational financial and industrial empires that bribe government officials and rob and swindle the public are routinely shielded and protected from prosecution by the "Justice" Department. Violent neo-Nazi, Ku Klux Klan and other racist and anti-Semitic movements thrive on the official anti-Communist hysteria created by the present administration.

In international relations, the great reservoir of good will has been dissipated. Even major allies of the U.S. express the most serious of reservations about (and sometimes even publicly denounce) U.S. economic, foreign and military policies; in the Third World there is great concern that the anti-Communist hysteria of Reagan's foreign and military policies will result in new military interventions in Latin America and other areas, and that Reagan is implacably set on continuing an arms race that presents a deadly danger to the survival of humanity. Hundreds of millions of people around the world struggling for a better life and the right of self-determination fear that the administration has become the inheritor of the Nazi crusade against "bolshevism" with

the same disastrous consequences in store for both its victims and its own people.

The people, yes.

Yet there is one ray of hope and salvation in this grim picture of the state of the Union, and that is the people of America. In the great majority, Americans are decent, humane and patriotic. And despite widespread confusion spread by the "double-speak" in the rhetoric of the present administration about the true nature of patriotism, they love this country and its great democratic and revolutionary traditions, and they share a commitment for peace and social justice. Abraham Lincoln observed, "You can't fool all the people all the time."

The key to the salvation of our nation lies in a renewal of the patriot spirit. The founders of our country and subsequent patriot-heroes understood the need for such a periodic renewal:

• "[It is necessary] that we frequently refresh our patriotism by reference to first principles." —Thomas Paine

• "The American war is over but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed." —Benjamin Rush, 1787

• "...that this nation shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth." —Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

Such reexaminations and renewals of the American spirit did in fact take place, notably in the struggle for the Bill of Rights, against slavery in the Civil War, and against the Nazi menace in World War II.

But once again we need a renaissance of the spirit of the American Revolution, and to rediscover the elements of a genuine American patriotism: First, the impassioned, humanist concern for the welfare of our people, and above all for the poorest, most deprived, the powerless. Second, a profound love for our land—our forests, rivers, lakes and seashores...our "spacious skies," "amber waves of grain," "purple mountain majesties above the fruited plain." Finally, an obsessive dedication to the democratic ideals embodied in our Declaration of Independence and in the Bill of Rights—a commitment to the expansion and extension of democracy to every aspect of our lives and to every American without favor or exception.

A true patriotic renaissance will understand the national interests of our people as fully compatible with the national interests and aspirations of peoples everywhere in the world. Genuine national security does not lie in macho belligerence and the stockpiling of weapons of horror and destruction, but in the just and peaceful resolution of international conflict.

There is indeed a global struggle going on for the hearts and minds of the human race. Basically it is a struggle between the democratic ideal and systems of dictatorship, both left and right. The Soviet Union is our adversary, but only in that it presents a powerful political challenge. It is not a military threat to our country. The best defense of our country and of the ideal of democracy would be our ability to prove to the world that democracy can give a happier, more fulfilling, more rewarding life for all, that it can give its people a higher standard of living, better health care, a better education, a richer and more diverse culture, full employment; that it can abolish racism and sexism, resolve the problems of energy and industrial pollution, help feed the hungry of the world and supply greater aid to the developing nations.

John Rossen is a retired businessman, veteran of World War II and of the Spanish Civil War and secretary of the Chicago-based New Patriot Alliance.

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Uncovering the Sixties, The Life and Times of the Underground Press

By Abe Peck
Pantheon Books, 326 pp.,
\$12.95 paper

By Robert Hurwitt

SOMETIMES WONDER WHAT the country might have been like, what my own life might have been like," former Senator William Fulbright told a *New York Times* reporter recently, "if the Vietnam war had never happened. It was just such a waste, and I spent so many years at it."

It's not a particularly profound observation, but Fulbright's acknowledgement of the war as the central, overriding concern of an entire generation—and his current reappearance in the national press, coming as it does on the eve of the publication of Abe Peck's *Uncovering the Sixties*—is a small instance of what Peck repeatedly terms "the God of Synchronicity" in his chronicle of the rise and fall of the underground press.

More synchronous still is the reemergence this spring of a widespread and largely campus-based protest movement, its superficial parallels to the Movement of the '60s already much overstressed in most of the mainstream press coverage.

The war in Vietnam and the war at home in opposition to U.S. intervention continues to be a major factor in American politics a decade after the war ended and the Movement—burned-out even in victory and severely damaged by a widespread government campaign of overt and covert repression—dissipated. Recalling Fulbright's relatively lonely stance against the war in the Senate, and against U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, the Reagan administration's difficulties in getting Congress to go along with its plans regarding Nicaragua indicate some of the '60s beneficial legacies.

On the negative side, the Movement's overriding focus on the war for so long left a whole agenda of other issues too long unaddressed, and so much of a legacy of inflated rhetoric promising "Revolution Now" that many, naive enough to have believed in such promises, became disillusioned enough to turn their backs on politics altogether and to turn to conservatism as their new true faith.

The mainstream press, with something of the same fervor with which Southern historians rewrote the history of Reconstruction earlier in this century, has seized on the change of heart of each new Jerry Rubin, Eldridge Cleaver, Peter Collier or David Horowitz as a mediagenic case history in a campaign to make the '60s radicalism look like a social aberration brought on by youthful exuberance—of no more lasting importance than hula hoops or flower power.

Revising revisionism.

Abe Peck's *Uncovering the Sixties* should serve to counterbalance some of that revisionism and to help us understand more fully the strengths and innate weaknesses of '60s radicalism. This is not an analytical study, but then it's probably still too early for a full-scale analysis of an era whose history has been only imperfectly recorded. And that is where the book's major contribution lies.



The Movement's media

Drawing deeply on his own experience, especially as editor of the *Chicago Seed*, Peck supplements and surrounds that first-person account with the results of voluminous research and interviews with a veritable Who's Who of key Movement and journalistic sources. Peck has written a lively, reasonably comprehensive and at times brutally truthful history of at least a part of the Movement.

And he has done a good deal more than that. Peck's focus is the journalistic arm of the Movement, the some 500 small and comparatively large papers whose purpose was to reflect the political and cultural realities of a large constituency alienated from, if not in open opposition to, the power structure. His history must of necessity also chronicle the rise and fall of the Movement, the events reflected in those papers and the ways in which changes in that constituency affected the underground press.

Peck's history covers the decade from 1964, when Art Kunkin founded the *Los Angeles Free Press*, to 1973 when, its numbers in decline and the nature of its membership changing, the Underground Press Syndicate met for the last time, in Boulder, Colo., and voted to change its name to the

Alternative Press Syndicate.

That decade, the heyday of the underground press, roughly coincides with the height of American involvement in Vietnam and of the antiwar movement. The seeds of all three, however, were planted much earlier, and Peck's opening chapter traces their development with a brief tour through the highlights of radical publications from colonial times to the early '50s and an examination of the mid-'50s as a time when the "majority paradigm" of the American dream began to fall apart.

Peck makes a good case for 1954 as a watershed year, the year of Dien Bien Phu (when the U.S. began to move in to fill what John Foster Dulles perceived as a vacuum left by the French withdrawal from Southeast Asia), the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* and the subsequent burgeoning of the civil rights movement, and of the Senate censure of Joe McCarthy. True to the eclectic nature of his topic, Peck profiles a panorama of influences challenging the status quo, from the rise of rock'n'roll, *Mad* and the *Realist*, to the Beats, the growth of the East Village, the founding of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and, of course, the *Village Voice* and *Lib-*

eration. He even includes the more "anarchic" TV shows (Sid Caesar, Ernie Kovacs (and Hollywood's celebration of youthful rebellion in films like *The Wild One* and *Blackboard Jungle*).

Somehow Peck manages to overlook New York's Washington Square riots over the right to play folk music in the park, among other things (Fair Play for Cuba, the Student Peace Union, etc.). But by and large he does an admirable job of bringing together the disparate forces that led to the development of an underground press as an antidote to the mainstream news media, offering "an honest subjectivity in place of an 'objectivity' that ignored its own underlying political and cultural assumptions."

Advocacy journalism.

The bulk of *Uncovering the Sixties* goes on to chronicle the underground press in lively detail, mixing personal anecdotes and biographical information about key figures with well-informed overviews of the turn of events, from year to year, in both the press and the Movement in general. The founding of the big three, the seminal L.A. *Free Press*, *Berkeley Barb* and *East Village Other*, is covered in depth, along with such

IN THESE TIMES JULY 10-23, 1985 19
other "first wave" papers as San Francisco's psychedelic *Oracle* and Detroit's *Fifth Estate*.

Peck examines the strengths and weaknesses of what *Barb* founder Max Scherr termed "advocacy journalism," delves into the "strange dialectic of growth and exhaustion" in which both the papers and the Movement operated, and treats with careful honesty the underground's fundamental and ultimately terminal contradictions: a press that espoused workers' rights but barely managed to pay its own writers; sexism against both women and gays; journalism that attempted to counter the half-truths of the established press without checking its own facts or that covered up embarrassing facts or changed stories to fit a party line.

He also chronicles the ongoing conflict between the papers that were frankly political and those that emphasized drug and lifestyle "revolution"—a conflict that divided paper against paper and staffs within papers and that spun off into further divisions as parts of the Movement became convinced that revolution was a real possibility and turned to violent tactics.

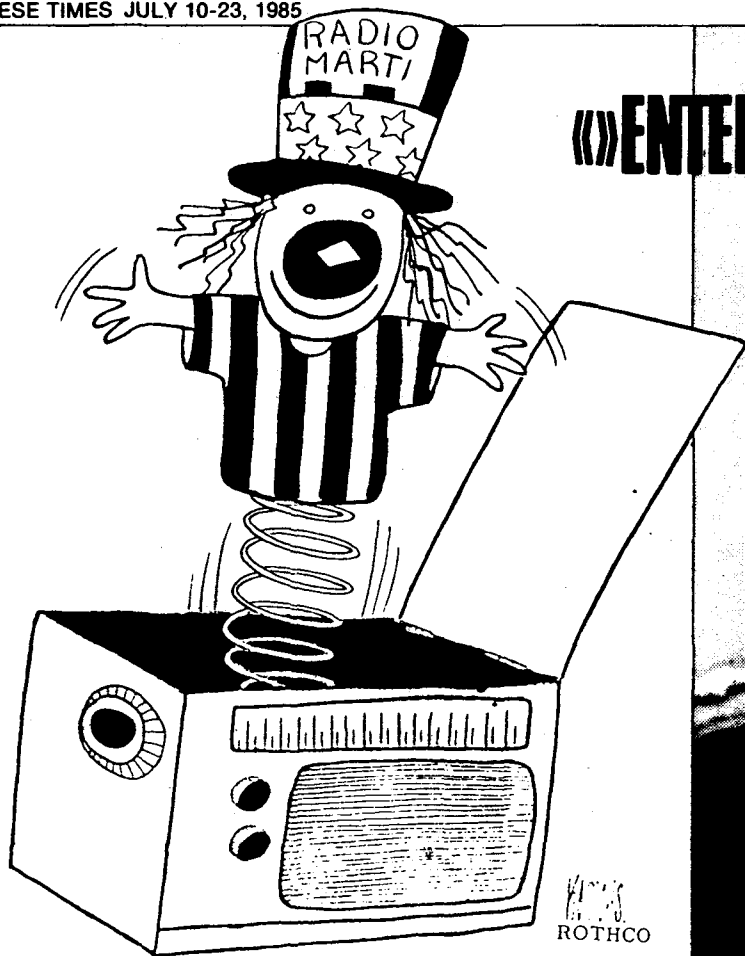
Through it all, though, through the struggles over sexism at the *Rat*, the schisms over exploitation at the *Barb*, the full repressive forces of the government from grand juries to FBI subversion, and through all the faults and failures of the papers themselves, *Uncovering the Sixties* is also a success story.

As rock critic Greil Marcus says in the book's invaluable final chapter, a collection of reflections by 75 major figures in the story, "Things don't have to last forever to work." The underground press did successfully challenge mainstream journalism, cracked the facade of a sexist, racist, imperialist national "consensus" and helped to develop a new generation of reporters who have at the least helped make established newspapers sensitive to minority issues or have become involved in a new alternative press with higher journalistic standards.

Perhaps the most important thing the underground press did, in battles small and large and by its very existence, was to expand and reaffirm the always tenuous and vital freedom of the press in this country. Besides giving us an entertaining and thoughtful account of the decade, Peck makes us appreciate more than ever how unending and arduous is the struggle for that freedom of political expression that right-wing critics never tire of telling us the left takes for granted.

California writer Frank Bardacke, also quoted in Peck's final chapter, provides a summing up that could serve as an epitaph for the decade chronicled here: "We helped set limits on the ability of the ruling class to wage war in Vietnam. We helped create a space for the black movement. We reshaped higher education in the U.S. And we ended a period of non-political participation. Those four things were crucial victories. What happened was that we had revolutionary hopes in a non-revolutionary situation, so it came to an end."

Robert Hurwitt, a former writer for the *Berkeley Barb*, *Express Times* and other underground papers, is associate editor of the *East Bay Express* (Berkeley) and editor of *West Coast Plays*, a series of drama anthologies.



«»ENTERTAINMENT



MEDIA

Cuban listeners tuning out messages on Radio Marti

By Debra Evenson

RADIO MARTI—REAGAN'S \$10 million "public service station" for Cuba—was supposed to become a powerful "weapon of ideas" aimed against the Cuban revolution. Shortly after it began firing its ideological missiles on May 20, however, it became evident that the Reagan administration had shot itself in the foot.

The intensity of official Cuban reaction—suspension of the immigration accord with the U.S. as well as travel to Cuba by Cubans residing in the U.S.; searing denunciations in the Cuban media by officials and national celebrities—all but guaranteed the station a broad national target as tens of thousands of Cubans, many of whom had not previously heard of Radio Marti, rushed to radios to hear what all the fuss was about.

But when the smoke cleared by the end of the first week, interest had virtually evaporated, probably irretrievably. Cubans were turned

off not by government jamming but by inept ultra-right propaganda and uninteresting programming.

The station quickly became the butt of jokes. Some called it Radio "La Engañadora" (the deceiver), after a cha-cha tune from the '50s about a young woman whose voluptuous curves were all pads and stuffing. To Cubans, the station was not all it was cracked up to be. The entertainment programs were anachronisms from the '50s and had little appeal. Expectations of superior, dazzling U.S. radio technology were disappointed by ho-hum ordinary techniques already heard on Florida stations reaching Cuba.

Radio Marti had blown it. Why?

Placement of ultra-conservatives at the station's helm made delivery of balanced, informative programming a mission impossible. Radio Marti's advisory board includes such right-wing ideologues as John R. Silber, whose penchant for anti-Communist hyperbole is matched only by Reagan himself, and Jorge Mas

Canosa, chairman of the fanatically anti-Castro Cuban American National Foundation.

Moreover, the station seemed surprisingly unprepared for broadcast on May 20, almost two years after receiving congressional approval. The station reportedly had difficulty hiring experienced staff and was torn by internal disputes over ideological content being pushed by Mas Canosa, resulting in several staff turnovers. As Radio Marti's momentum dissipated, pressure to commence operation came from Florida's Cuban community, perhaps fearing that the project was about to self-destruct.

Not only is the programming short on factual credibility, but its approach is out of touch with Cuban society today, and so illuminates the wide gulf between anti-Castro Cubans in the U.S. who support and guide the station and Cubans living on the island.

During its first week on the air, Radio Marti broadcast a dramatization portraying Fidel Castro as a conspirator in the assassination of Grenadan leader Maurice Bishop. Several weeks later similar accusations appeared in an unsubstantiated "news story that Cuba was providing aid to left-wing parties in Grenada that had been responsible for "murdering Bishop."

Such an outrageous allegation would not be believed in the U.S., much less in Cuba where few modern leaders have captured the affection of the Cuban people as did Maurice Bishop. The Grenada project, reportedly Mas Canosa's "baby," dealt an immediate blow to the station's already negligible credibility.

Radio Marti has been particularly clumsy in trying to resolve the contradiction presented by its simultaneous condemnation of the South African apartheid regime and support for the U.S. and South African-backed *Unita* contras ("freedom fighters") in Angola. Radio Marti was caught in the em-

barrassing position of failing to report the capture of South African commandos in Angola for a full week after the story appeared in the Cuban press.

One of the station's announced objectives is to provide Cubans with the "truth" about what is happening inside Cuba. The "truths" reported, however, are more like a right-wing wish list than reflection of reality: Cuba is racist; there are widespread food shortages; its economy is on the verge of collapse. One such report (allegedly received from Paris!) accused Castro of running a racist government. This commentary, which aired immediately after a news report of violent government suppression of blacks in South Africa, equated racism with the relatively small number of blacks and mulattos in high positions. While vestiges of

Not only is Radio Marti's programming short on credibility and sophistication, but its approach is out of touch with Cuban society today.

historic disparities persist, Cuba's impressive progress toward racial equality is visible everywhere, and the average Cuban looks on accusations of official racism with astonished disbelief.

Moreover, it is ridiculous to try to persuade Cubans, who have the highest calorie and protein intake per capita in the southern hemisphere, that they are worse off than every other country in Latin America when they see and hear frequent news reports of increasing hunger and widespread unemployment in neighboring countries.

The broadcast also includes frequent interjection of platitudes

about democracy, liberty and freedom as goods allegedly enjoyed almost everywhere else in the region—even Guatemala!

Perhaps the most absurdly sinister programming is the daily horoscope, which ominously warns Libras "not to talk to neighbors," Virgos "not to travel" and Leos that "their boss is out to get them." Some listeners were irritated, others angered by its repellant tone, which confirmed for them the unfriendly nature of Marti's programming.

Ironically, Voice of America had enjoyed a fairly large audience in Cuba and many Cubans openly complain that Radio Marti has replaced it on the medium wave (AM) band. Thus, Radio Marti has not only succeeded in turning off its potential audience, but it has probably tarnished what credibility VOA once had in Cuba, leaving the U.S. with no effective means of communication.

If Radio Marti is such a dismal failure, then why the strong reaction by the Cuban government? Contrary to popular editorials here, the content of the station was virtually irrelevant to the official response.

Achievement of a major immigration accord with the U.S. in December and continuing talks with the U.S. State Department had led some Cuban officials to believe the station was permanently on hold. The unexpected, abrupt announcement received by the Cubans on May 19 accompanied by a threatening letter cautioning the Cubans not to take strong measures in reaction to the broadcast certainly contributed to the angry response suspending the immigration accord. Expropriation of the name of Cuba's most revered national hero was also received as a gross national insult.

In its official response, the Cuban government declared that the broadcast was timed to undermine Cuba's successful reintegration into the Latin American community and to detract from Castro's emergence as an increasingly respected advocate for repudiation of the foreign debt. Having significantly strengthened its ties and prestige in the hemisphere, Cuba could not appear impotent before such direct U.S. intrusion into its internal affairs.

Moreover, the decision to suspend travel to Cuba by Cubans residing in the U.S. sent a stinging message to the Cuban-American community that Cuba was open to dialog and reconciliation but would not tolerate continued interference by Cuban-Americans with progress toward normalized relations.

In fact, the Cuban response shows a measured concern for diplomatic relationships in the long run. It has refused the far more provocative option of jamming American commercial radio frequencies—which Cuba did as a warning when the Marti radio service was debated in Congress.

Congress reserved the authority to yank Radio Marti if it proved inconsistent with VOA guidelines for balanced, informative programming. Reinstalling Cuba's VOA service would not only serve the interests of beaming a more representative, if not unbiased, U.S. point of view to Cuba, but would put the two countries back on track toward real communication.

©Debra Evenson

Debra Evenson, who visited Cuba in June, teaches law at DePaul University in Chicago.

Coming soon!
Stark reality!



Texas cartoonist Dan Thibodeau, whose work sometimes appears in alternative weeklies, has found the perfect medium for social commentary in these times: the movie poster. Besides the Reaganstein poster (left), he has also produced "The Invisible Hand," showing helpless women and children fleeing a factory in the grip of a ghoulish phantom. "Man Created It—Now He Can't Stop It!" the poster announces. "See people without jobs!" "See busy commercial centers turned into ghost towns!" The screenplay is written by—who else?—Adam Smith and Milton Friedman, with special effects by the U.S. Marine Corps. Catch it at your local Rust-bowl center. Thibodeau's posters are available for \$2.50 each plus \$1.50 postage and handling from 5202 Andover Pl., Austin, TX 78723.

By Lucy R. Lippard

IMAGINE ASIAN ART—THE clouded peaks of Chinese paintings, the exuberant street life of Japanese woodcuts, happy revolutionary peasants. Right? Not exactly. "Myths," a recent show by the Epoxy Art Group at New York Chinatown's Basement Workshop, featured a temple to Asian kitsch complete with a wall of Chinese campaign buttons, a painted prisoner chained to a real incense burner, a vegetable crate full of skulls.

Epoxy consists of six young Hong Kong artists who came to the U.S. within the last decade. In the bonding suggested by their name, "the twain" have met: "We grew up in a fermented, multicultural environment. The myths we were brought up with were not really traditions. Donald Duck, Superman, King Kong and all the pop heroes and monsters were there, plus things from way back in Chinese history."

A new generation of Asian-American artists is breaking out of the lyrical-and-laidback stereotype and resisting the ways their heritage has been adapted to modernism by mostly Western artists. "We'll take your culture, but not you," is the way one artist gets the picture. "Being an Asian impedes one's career and has a bad effect not only on artists but on U.S. culture," says Robert Lee, director of the Asian Arts Institute. "Yet these artists are in a unique position: they are pioneers of a new art that has important implications for people in Asia as well. They can gain insight into possible directions of cultural change in their own societies, as they are inevitably influenced by the worldwide dissemination of Western ideas and values."

There is a myth in this country that Asian-Americans are easily assimilated. They're smart and thrifty and well-behaved and just melt right into the American potluck. But artist Tomie Arai says, "I am a third-generation Japanese-American and I still feel like people think I should go back home." When poet Fay Chiang, director of Basement Workshop, did try to go back to China, she found her identity problems intensified. "Everywhere I went, I fit in. I looked like them and I could understand the dialect, but people were so polite and had a grasp of the ancient culture I didn't know. I thought, I'm an American, I have to go back to New York."

At that point, in the early '70s, she and Arai and many other young Asians, nationwide, began to seek out their own histories. What ensued in New York alone over the next decade was: *Yellow Pearl* (an anthology of Asian-American culture) and Basement Workshop, community murals, the Chinatown History Project, *Bridge* magazine, Asian Cinevision, the Asian Arts Institute and Asian American Dance Theatre...and more. Some became involved in left politics; others set out to remedy the absence of Asian images in the media. However, most of the "high art" has been relatively apolitical.

There are historical reasons for this. For a century, U.S. immigration welcomed cheap male labor from Asia but banned most women. Without families, there was no real community, leaving the "bachelor society" politically



Bing Lee

Re-orienting perspectives by Asian American artists

isolated, unlike blacks and Hispanics. When these men died, their lives were literally discarded. As the Chinatown History Project began to collect oral history, artifacts, old photos and clothing, they found much of their material in the neighborhood garbage. The Project publishes an illustrated newsletter—*Bu Gao Ban* (available from 70 Mulberry St., NYC 10013; \$10 for three issues). Its Winter-Spring 1985 issue is focused on a documentary exhibition

ing" been followed through to a full collaboration. However, each artist's separate piece tried to open up the arena in which Asians are expected to work. Cissy Pao's *Sky Dragons* fly off her painted constructions onto the wall as nude figures point excitedly; the style is 1985 New York and the contents "timeless" Asian. Similarly, Eric Chan's big double painting, *Chess Game*, takes a traditional subject—two monks on a misty mountaintop—and disorients it via

pile of blackened skulls (death). They are related to everyday life by their supports—a basket, a table, a ceramic jar—and by the bright oranges, yellows, greens and reds I associate with Chinatown. The contrast of a symmetrical, perhaps ritual arrangement and casual "ordinary" materials suggest a peculiarly Asian integration of art, religion and working life.

As New York's Chinatown spills over into other ethnic neighborhoods, the need for cross-cultural dialogs increases. This past winter, a show of food, fashion and mementos called "Waves/Olas (and the Chinese character for waves)" was held at a local housing project to inform Spanish and Chinese communities about each other's culture and customs. In a nearby park, Chinese-American artist Stefani Mar commemorated another bi-cultural rite with *Prayer for Lotto Players*, a colorful flag and ticket installation.

Most of Basement Workshop's exhibitions stress cross-cultural communication and identity crisis. A work by William Jung depicted

UNTITLED, Bing Lee, 1985, mixed media, c.9'x15'

a naked man trying unsuccessfully to tear off a grinning Chinese New Year's mask. San Franciscan Colin Lee showed a series called "Hapa Heroes" (from the Hawaiian term for people of mixed ancestry), among them the internationally famous sculptor Isamu Noguchi, the Chinese-Cuban Surrealist Wilfredo Lam and the East Village's Keiko Bonk.

All of these activities are part of a much larger national movement to overturn the melting pot and celebrate the immense diversity of cultural expression emerging from our multi-ethnic society. We envision a cultural democracy (a term you'll hear often from me, based in the Alliance for Cultural Democracy, which will hold its annual conference in Chicago in October). It's a marvelously complex subject. Cross-cultural means cross-class as well. There are classes within cultures within cultures within countries, to use a suitably Chinese doll metaphor. Each views the role of art and artist differently. What better mirrors, and windows, do we have with which to see into our own and others' lives, and to better understand what we see there?

Lucy Lippard, whose most recent book is *Getting the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change* (Dutton), writes on art and politics monthly for *In These Times*.

The myth in this country is that Asian-Americans are assimilated. They're smart and thrifty and well-behaved and just melt right into the American potluck.

organized by San Francisco's Chinese Women of America Research Project, which introduces such forgotten figures as Lulu Nathoy (a.k.a. Polly Bemis), a Chinese woman homesteader in Idaho.

"We are expected to be artists," one Asian-American told me. "So it's not hard to get into the mainstream. But the stereotypes are very limited, and we've accepted and regenerated them. Our art doesn't reflect our social realities." Combatting stereotypes—images that are not "fleshed out"—is an inherently political process. Minnesota poet Meridel Le Seuer has called for a culture in which we "re-member"—make our bodies and histories whole again. Projects like these have inspired artists like the Epoxy Six to declare their independence from "Oriental" stereotypes while asserting, sometimes uneasily, their own social experience.

Epoxy's "Myths" show might have been stronger had the "bond-

an aerial perspective and the addition of real pieces to the board. Jerry Kwan's *Slaves of Time* realistically depicts a dejected prisoner and an ambiguously beaming grandmother-type holding a coil of rope, a chicken and a bunch of flowers (his jailer? his fate? the Old County?)

Kwok's *Frog Life* installation combines campaign buttons, daggers and silver tape and glitter scarves. It could be parodying or respecting the popular shrine, as a hard sell or as an authentic folk art. Bing Lee's temple is a bold, black-white-and-red wall-size collage/drawing that successfully fuses Lower East Side expressionism and the emblematic solemnity of its traditional sources. Ming Fay's *Legend of Wu Loo* is a sculptural ensemble of three oversized natural objects: Wu Loo, the gourd (symbolizing the mystery of life), a red egg (birth) and a pine cone (longevity). Before them stands a half-open vegetable crate in which are visible a

CULTURE SHOCK

Quote of the Week

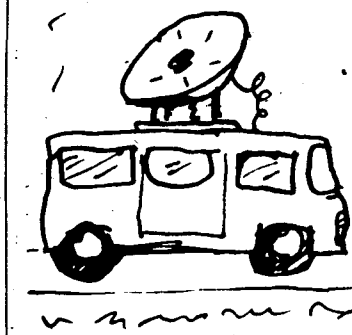
CBS Vice President for Sales J.H. Dominus recently revealed, in trade magazine *Broadcasting*, the depth of his commitment to his work: "I want my tombstone to say, 'He knew where the next buck was coming from.'"

Fiction Stranger Than Fact

An "authorized biography" has been published of the fictional Carrington family, whose tangled affairs are chronicled in the TV series *Dynasty*.

One for the Road

A California couple has installed a satellite dish on the roof of their recreational vehicle, making it possible to watch cable programs on the road.



Alabama

Continued from page 5

dumping ground for some of the nation's most toxic wastes, the Black Belt organized to try to prevent it, and failing that, to gain some control over it for the sake of protecting people's health and the environment. When a dog racing track was proposed, similar efforts to control it were undertaken.

Blacks who came to power in some of these black majority areas even proposed legislation that would make it easier for whites to be fairly represented on local boards and authorities, thus demonstrating their belief in basic democracy. But the white power structure wasn't interested in fair representation. Black state Sen. Hank Sanders, who proposed some of this legislation, says whites wanted to "control the whole thing."

Black power culminated in 1983 with lawyer Sanders' election to the state senate from a newly created black majority district. The 23rd district is the largest legislative area in the state and Sanders is the state's most powerful black politician. Sanders grew up in the civil rights movement and was co-chairman of the Jesse Jackson campaign in the state and is one of the lawyers for the Black Belt 8.

Since 90 percent of the jobs in the Black Belt are tied directly and indirectly to the political system, the state legislature moved quickly to curtail home rule in the Black Belt counties, even though this had served white supremacy in the area for more than 100 years. The power to appoint members of the Dog Racing Commission was taken away from Sanders and State Representative Lucius Black and given to the governor. State legislation regarding authority over the chemical waste dump was also removed from the newly elected state senator and representative. There have been numerous attempts to remove the authority of county school boards in areas where they

are in black hands. A common practice in recent years has been for the white power structure to hand-pick blacks they can count on to run for office.

The indictments against the Black Belt 8 are part of a premeditated conspiracy going back at least six years, according to Wendell Paris. In 1979, blacks succeeded in organizing Sumter County, the last Black Belt county to be organized. That year a secret meeting of whites from the five Black Belt counties now under attack, as well as state elected officials and Rep. Richard Shelby of the 7th Congressional district, was held in Greene county. According to Paris, those at the meeting decided that the organization making trouble for them was the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, with which many of the current indictees have been associated. A decision was made at that meeting to go after the Federation.

Members of the Black Belt Defense Committee have copies of letters sent by prominent whites to Congress members and the General Accounting Office requesting a federal investigation of the Federation for "waste and squandering of the taxpayers' money." A massive federal investigation failed to turn up anything illegal after 22 months. It did, however, succeed in paralyzing Federation staff and resources, and the general climate of suspicion cast by the probe succeeded in eroding the Federation's financial base, including government and foundation grants. Almost \$2 million was used up in legal fees.

Paris believes the white power structure is now trying to paralyze the black political organizations in the Black Belt in much the same way as they crippled the Federation. They would, of course, like to get convictions. But barring that, they can tie up the political leadership of the Black Belt for years, simply by bringing these cases to trial.

The Campaign for a New South has been organized by those people who were educated by the fire hoses, beatings and jailings of the '60s, and who are now at the center of grassroots empowerment in the Black

Belt. They are mounting a national fight-back campaign and have called for a congressional investigation into the role of the FBI and the Justice Department in the selective prosecution of voting violations in the Black Belt. If this campaign is successful, it could mean a chance for substantive change in the South.

One person with reason to fear the success of people like the Turners is Jeremiah Denton, Alabama's arch-reactionary senator. The Black Belt voted overwhelmingly against him the last time he ran. He faces an uphill battle for re-election in 1986, and a strong black showing could make a difference. Another who has reason to fear is Rep. Richard Shelby, a pro-Reagan Democrat whose district includes much of the Black Belt. He may run for Denton's seat.

"Every attempt they have made to disenfranchise us," says Wendell Paris, "has stuck to them like Tar Baby." But with Reagan occupying the White House and Edwin Meese as attorney general, it is going to take a major national outpouring of conscience to defeat this one.

For further information on the Black Belt cases, contact: Black Belt Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5, Gainesville, AL 35464. Sheila D. Collins' book, *From Melting Pot to Rainbow Coalition: the Future of Race and Ethnicity in American Politics*, will be published by Monthly Review Press.

Pazienza

Continued from page 9

to what tune to dance to once Reagan took charge of the Empire.

In his first press conference as secretary of state, Haig announced that "international terrorism" was going to replace Carter's "human rights" as the main ideological theme of American foreign policy. To get into the swing of things, Santovito bought a couple of Ledeen papers on "the international connections of terrorism" and passed them along to then Prime Minister Francesco Cossiga (now president) and leading

members of his cabinet as the secret conclusions of original SISMI investigations. Yet Italian journalists to whom the studies were leaked found them an unconvincing rehash of old gossip, such as the notion that the Italian Communist Party was really run by a secret "parallel" hierarchy commanded by Moscow.

But right-wing journalists to whom such reports were leaked (including Claire Sterling and perhaps even Ledeen himself) could point to them as confirmation from "Italian intelligence sources" of their worst suspicions about Soviet support of terrorism.

As Santovito testified in October 1983, SISMI's mission included supervision of Italy's foreign arms deals. This is a troubled area, to say the least. In the international arms market, everyone sells to everyone, although often, when the ideological contradiction is too flagrant, by way of an intermediary country. Italy has often served as the U.S.' intermediary for sales toward politically questionable countries. This may be motive enough to shout loudly that Moscow is the one responsible for arming international terrorism.

Santovito also said he had been trying—in vain—to find some evidence of "pay offs" to pin on the PCI through the trade of "red" cooperatives with Bulgaria. He justified this SISMI activity by noting that all the other parties were in crisis because of scandal: why shouldn't the PCI have its share?

According to Pazienza's former associate Alvaro Giardili, on May 13, 1981, the day the Pope was shot, Vatican banker Cardinal Paul Marcinkus made an urgent call to Pazienza to find out who was behind the assassination attempt. Chauffeur Maurizio Visigalli said Pazienza had a file on Agca, including something about a woman who had worked in a Via Veneto hotel and was Agca's girlfriend.

Only six days after Agca shot the Pope, SISMI produced a secret report for the Italian government claiming the plot had been hatched in Bucharest the previous November by Soviet Marshal Ustinov. Was this more warmed-over Ledeen? In any case, leaks from this quick study could keep the rumor mills grinding.

One of the many reasons Pazienza impressed Santovito was his French connection. Santovito testified that Pazienza was "best of friends" with Alexandre de Marenches, former chief of SDECE (the French CIA) and a close friend of Vernon Walters. Pazienza had lived in France for seven years and often flew there on liaison missions for Santovito. De Marenches, incidentally, recently confirmed a 1982 declaration by Arnaud de Borchgrave that French intelligence had provided the Vatican with an early warning of the Soviet bloc plot to kill the Pope. The Bulgarians now say they have received reports that Agca's missing Turkish buddy and accomplice, Oral Celik, is being held in France by some unspecified secret service (intelligence agency) and coached to corroborate Agca's accusations against the Bulgarians at some later, dramatic moment in the Rome trial.

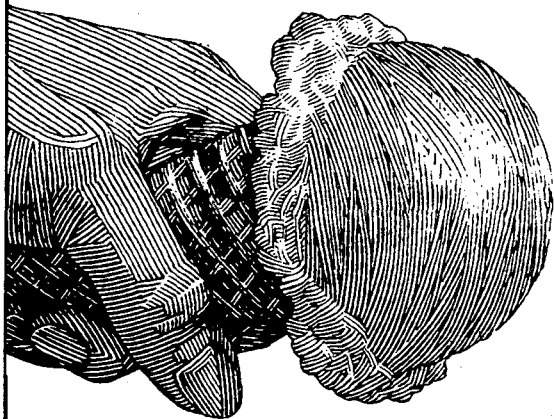
From what one reads about them, it is easy to imagine a certain number of Western intelligence experts all talking themselves and each other into the reality of the "Bulgarian connection" because they want to believe it. Indeed, in the absence of any material evidence, the charges against the Bulgarians look more like self-intoxication than a serious frame-up. People in the West want to believe it. All that was needed was for some obliging Italians to get Agca to tell the right story.

From the account of Pazienza's manifold activities that emerges from the P2 investigation, it seems likely that he played some role, major or minor, in this process. If the whole thing falls apart, he is conspicuous enough to make a good scapegoat.

The more one looks at this case, the more it seems that a crazy Turk who wants to kill the Pope is an asset in the secret wars not only between opposing intelligence agencies but between conflicting factions within the Western intelligence community, and that there is slight chance that all this will ever be comprehensible to the public.

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Rambo

Continued from page 24

world as we know it. He hates the Vietnamese, the Russians, the American military, the government, and an America that doesn't love him as much as he loves it. (Apparently Rambo missed all the veterans' parades.)

Rambo erases the troublesome, complex residue of the war and suppresses all trace of the fact that Rambo is of this earth—an American, a soldier, an ex-con. Vietnam here is just some lush green place (Mexico, actually) full of pesky natives backed by a foreign superpower. Rambo is an *ubermensch*, perfect in physique, flawlessly intuitive in his military tactics, unflinching in his purpose. No matter where you look in the movie, you don't see history, politics or society: you see (sigh) Stallone's naked torso. His burnished flesh testifies not to the rage of vets or to the legacy of Vietnam but to the divine power of Nautilus.

This new and improved Rambo, hulking right-wing anarchist that he is, is the latest, scariest manifestation of a tendency in American films to (ab)use the central image of an unhinged veteran in order to dramatize our society's post-Vietnam sickness. Since 1976, a number of films—among them *Taxi Driver* (1976), *Tracks* (1976), *Rolling Thunder* (1977), *Who'll Stop the Rain?* (1978), *Coming Home* (1978), *The Deer Hunter* (1978), *Cutter's Way* (1981), *Americana* (1981)—have featured not ordinary veterans but flamboyantly deranged survivors of a conflict that, so the romantic myth goes, rendered every last one of its participants crazy. These veterans, of whom Paul Schrader's taxi-driving Travis

Bickle is the prototype, are either insane, alienated, affectless, cynical, nihilistic, self-appointed law enforcers, whacked-out geniuses, maimed or impotent—and frequently most of these at once, like Alex Cutter in *Cutter's Way*. Ex-Vietnam servicemen are portrayed as having access to An Awesome Truth that has catapulted them onto a higher plane of awareness, making them unfit for life in the day-to-day.

As far as Hollywood is concerned, the Vietnam War and its repercussions in American society boil down to dark psycho-sexual melodramas starring the returning veteran. Certainly many veterans were traumatized by their experiences there: many committed suicide, got divorced, committed crimes.

Yet what is constantly ignored or suppressed is—politics. What about the historical/political/social/economic/ideological issues and forces that got us into Vietnam? Where'd they disappear to?

I can name only three feature films that could be termed even remotely "political": *The Green Berets* (1968), *Who'll Stop the Rain?* and *Go Tell the Spartans* (1978).

John Wayne's *Green Berets* lives in infamy as the only explicitly pro-Vietnam war film Hollywood ever made. It shows how the army convinces a liberal journalist that America absolutely must intervene in Vietnam. Even more, political reality swiftly gets lost in the film's ludicrous iconography—the VC perch in trees like great buzzards and the landscape looks like a dry summer in Germany.

Although the other two films focus on the personal tragedy involved in the war, both attempt *explanations* of some kind or other. In *Go Tell the Spartans*, set in the '60s, every single American, except one, dies as a direct or indirect result of VC guerrilla tactics. These Americans include

veterans of World War II and Korea who simply aren't prepared—mentally or tactically—for a war of this nature. The film was trying to tell us why the war was unwinnable; unfortunately, we'd lost the war by then.

Who'll Stop the Rain?, a Karel Reisz film from Robert Stone's screenplay of his novel, *Dog Soldiers*, offers a subtle allegory about American class dynamics. The middle-class journalist and his wife are limp, ineffectual types who live on drugs and apathy. The man of action (Nick Nolte) is a working-class merchant seaman who gets mangled in an intrigue between the journalist, crooked cops and big-time heroin dealers. If you squint your eyes and look real closely, you might find an explanation for how America got into Vietnam.

By the early '80s, feature films were using Vietnam as a new Wild West—an uncontroversial backdrop for conventional POW flicks (the *Missing in Actions*) and conventional love stories (*Purple Heart*). With *Rambo*, Vietnam functions as the site for a restatement of those old-time militarist, jingoist, imperialist, individualist values that were partially responsible for our involvement in Vietnam in the first place. From John Wayne to John Rambo: scary thought, eh?

Hollywood did not dream up this version of Vietnam alone. The fantasy seems a widely popular one. Media coverage of the 10th anniversary of Saigon's fall represented America as the tragic hero in a romance of its own writing. That incredible outpouring of pathos and smug self-re- crimination made Vietnam in American history much like Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Before Vietnam we were pure, innocent, orderly; after Vietnam we are corrupt, cynical, deranged. The fall of Saigon resonates as a metaphor

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for America's fall from grace and each American is Man after the Fall. A political conflict has become a clutch of individual tragedies—and not just in the movies.

Did we learn a single solitary thing in Vietnam? We seem to have learned our lesson: public opinion is overwhelmingly against U.S. intervention in Central America. Yet *Rambo's* box-office record suggests that, as far as the public imagination goes, we are as anti-communist and imperialist as we ever were. Stallone's Vietnam, the one so many people are going to see, looks a hell of a lot like Nicaragua. ■
Helen Knode is a staff writer for the L.A. Weekly, where an earlier version of this article appeared.

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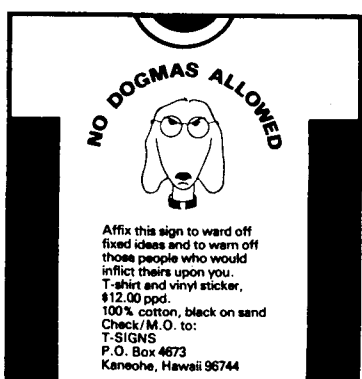
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'NAM ON THE RERUN

By Helen Knode



First Blood was a smart film about how the intractably ferocious memory of Vietnam—personified by John Rambo, veteran—had returned to wreak its vengeance on an America that, because of its refusal to think about our involvement in Southeast Asia, had failed to reconcile its mythologies with the lessons we learned over there. 'In *Rambo*, which grossed \$32,548,262 in the first six days of its North American release, the vet with a gripe has been transformed into a vigilante—Bernard Goetz with biceps—at murderous odds with all groups and structures belonging to the

Continued on page 23